

# KICK IT OVER

NO. 15

"ACT LOCALLY" ISSUE

SPRING 1986

CANADA

• U.S.A. •

AUSTRALIA

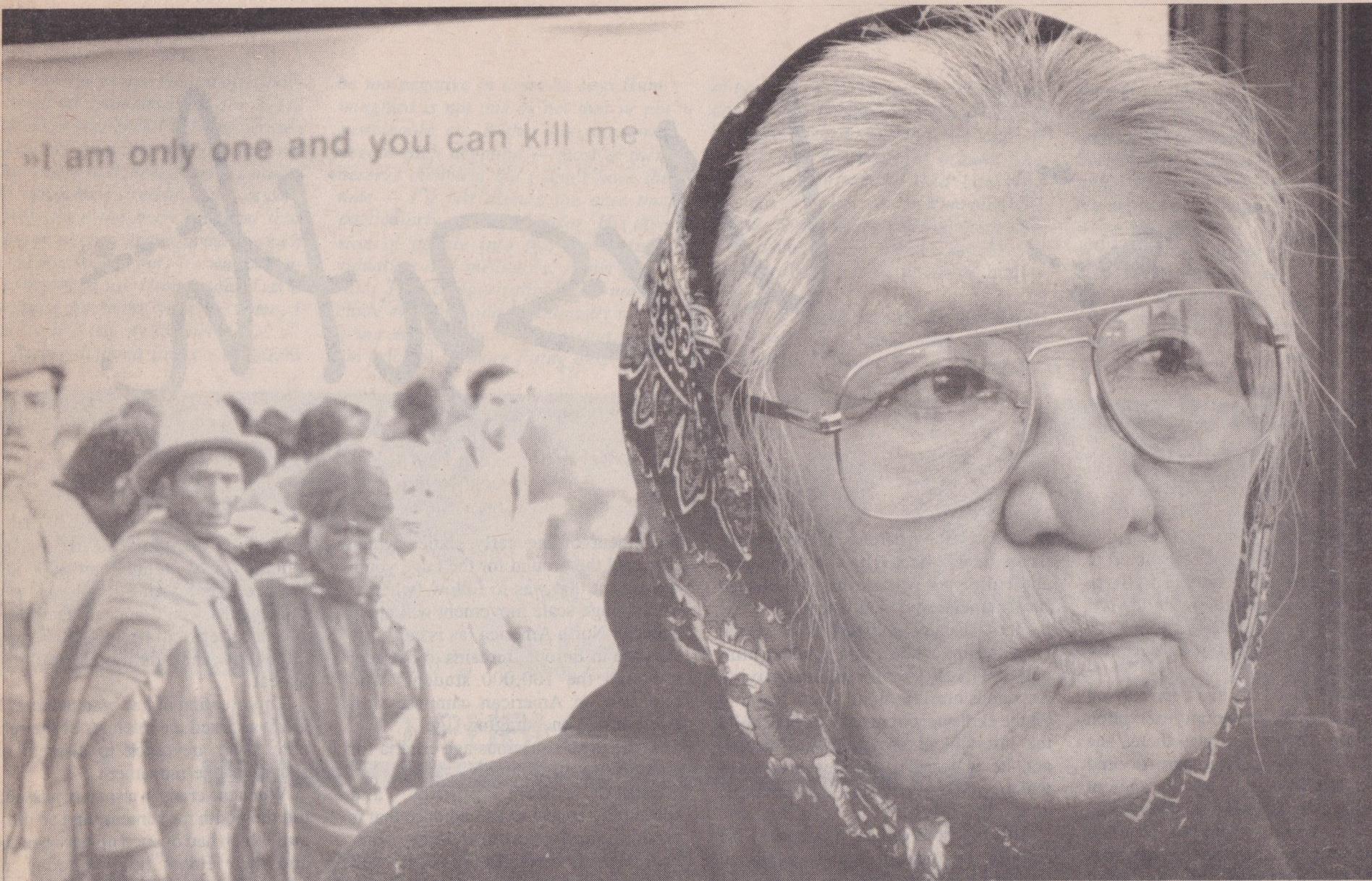
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Tammaro

Youth Liberation ■ Ivan Illich ■ Interview with Navajo Elder  
Psycho-Killers in White Coats ■ The 60's Revisited  
Free University ■ Apartheid At Home



Laurence Acland

# ROBERTA BLACKGOAT

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# ROBERTA BLACKGOAT

*Roberta Blackgoat is a traditional Navajo elder. During the Toronto stop of her continent-wide tour, members of Kick It Over went to hear her speak, and were able to ask her questions about what's going on at Big Mountain. We have reproduced the interview here, leaving her answers as she spoke them. In her interview, she speaks of the prophecy regarding the destruction of the United States if the sacred Black Mesa is mined, and discusses the Navajo world-view and its reverence for women and the earth.*

*Jay Mason, a Mohawk/Chippewa who is active in the Toronto Big Mountain support committee, draws together many of the threads which bind the struggles of indigenous peoples together worldwide. The interviews were conducted by Paul Franklin and Alexandra Devon.*

**KIO:** What has been happening at Big Mountain [Arizona]?

**ROBERTA BLACKGOAT:** What is called Big Mountain, is that is where we're living. We been born here and we've been raised here, tending our own grazing sheep.

thumb-prints signing for to be relocated. These little notes they're getting, they don't know what it means. And all they do is just tell them to sit on the chair or whatever. There's a person that knows how to read and they just take it over there. They have to walk far to know what this paper says. These uneducateds are just in tears. They don't know what to do.

**KIO:** Roberta, could you tell me what happens to people who are relocated off the land?

**RB:** After they have been relocated and moved to the border town, instead of living in a nice place with having TV and lights and a washroom and kitchen and all the heaters goin', they lost everything. They got their money that has been offered, \$5000.00, it's all gone and so they sold out their houses and their trucks, whatever they had. Some . . . had a feeling to go back and get help. Some got divorces and then there are the alcoholics. A lot of things cause [them to] shut themselves [off] from themselves. (And so they just walk home to the reservations like that.) All these things has been helping the government.

**KIO:** And no place to live?

uranium, gold, and silver and whatever, the precious minerals. Also, the waters been held up by Peabody coal. And so it's getting to be a poor area, but still it's been wanted.

The Navajos and the Hopi are fighting, as it's so-called. And yet the Hopis and the Navajos aren't fighting. I can say for sure it's not that way. It's just the reason that the government is doing, trying to move both tribes off the reservation.

**KIO:** What will happen to the earth if they mine the Black Mesa?

**RB:** Well, I would say that what the Mother Earth is facing is that they're really hurting this Mother Earth if her precious [minerals] is to be on top of her she'll be in pain. For instance, there's four sacred mountains that we're really serious [about] and they're really sacred to us. And right in the middle is supposed to be a 'Jokun' [sacred offering place] ruin. And yet, all these scenes start going and then hurting our Mother Earth. So she's in real pain as far as I know. It's [like] what Jesus had said, "Goin' up on the mountain and pray". It's just the same with us, too; we had a place to offer, and this, our altar. Yet if

women are very highly regarded. Is that related to the reverence that people have for the land?

**RB:** The whole thing is connected with our notion that women has to be holy in the holy family, by how she has raised the kids. Also the Mother Earth is raising us right there. And so that is the whole type in one. It doesn't matter how many different tongues that it's been around the world, but still we're all in one. And so the women always have to be in front of everything and she's really the boss of the family in the home.

So that's really . . . hard to say the whole thing . . . , but you know how the Creator had set us at the very beginning, how we should be how long we're gonna be on earth and how soon he's gonna take us back where to another world, so called. That the Navajos are gonna go to a new land. But the Creator's the only one that's gonna send us to a new land. That's what I feel in my heart, and pray the same way, too.

**KIO:** Could you tell me what's going to happen this summer when the people are supposed to move off their land? What are the people going to do?

**RB:** I really can't say. I just depend on

and were able to ask her questions about what's going on at Big Mountain. We have reproduced the interview here, leaving her answers as she spoke them. In her interview, she speaks of the prophecy regarding the destruction of the United States if the sacred Black Mesa is mined, and discusses the Navajo world-view and its reverence for women and the earth.

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**ROBERTA BLACKGOAT:** What is called Big Mountain, is that is where we're living. We been born here and we've been raised here, tending our own grazing sheep.

All these things needed to be taken away from us. [The government and mining companies have been trying to] have us moved. All this barbed wire has been loaded into the reservation, and it's trying to split us. Even our children what be livin' on this side and I'll be sittin' on this side, and the fence has to go through there. And the water that I'll be using would be sitting on this side, and the fence has to go through there, and then I'm sitting on the dry spot. Or either a cornfield would be on this side or I'll be sitting on this side.

[People are being] forced to use their

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**KIO:** And no place to live?

**RB:** No place to live. 'Course especially the veterans. They went overseas to fight. Of course they've been told that they were fighting for the land, for their country. And yet, when they returned their parents had been relocated. They came home to an empty area. And so, that's a big loss, and I will say it's a loss, a big loss on the treaties. Broken promises by the government.

**KIO:** Tell me, why must the people move?

**RB:** Well, the reason why these people are being relocated is for the minerals in the ground underneath us, the coal,

it's getting to be a poor area, but still it's been wanted.

The Navajos and the Hopi are fighting, as it's so-called. And yet the Hopis and the Navajos aren't fighting. I can say for sure it's not that way. It's just the reason that the government is doing, trying to move both tribes off the reservation.

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**KIO:** I know that in Navajo culture

**RB:** The whole thing is connected with our notion that women has to be holy in the holy family, by how she has raised the kids. Also the Mother Earth is raising us right there. And so that is the whole type in one. It doesn't matter how many different tongues that it's been around the world, but still we're all in one. And so the women always have to be in front of everything and she's really the boss of the family in the home.

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**KIO:** Could you tell me what's going to happen this summer when the people are supposed to move off their land? What are the people going to do?

**RB:** I really can't say. I just depend on my Creator just as I've been saying. And I guess you might punish these people [government officials] that are facing the relocation people [the Navajo]. I'm not having any fear about that. I depend to my Creator. And so I'm resisting, and I'm gonna stay where I am and I don't care what, how many United States Marshal comes around. I don't think they'll take me to anywhere, since there's no place for us to go. The Creator's the only one going to transplant us. □

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i n t e r v i e w

# YOUTH.

**By Ted Dymet**

One of the people I most wanted to see, during my Christmas visit to Ottawa, was not going to be in town. I was told she was travelling in Mexico, virtually penniless, but apparently having fun.

Before Mexico, she had been staying at Big Mountain, an Indian reservation in Arizona. While she was there, she had been sleeping in a bare-floored earthen hut inhabited by an ancient 'medicine man' and his wife. She would get up at dawn, chop wood until mid-morning, and herd sheep and goats into the hills until dusk. She wanted to get a crash-course in Navaho before the U.S. Army plays its (probably violent) role in July's 'relocation' scam.

We didn't expect her back for several months, at which time she will probably continue her efforts helping prostitutes organize for safety, as well as all her other projects. She had just turned

blade had left his parents' home; a place where he was treated as half scape-goat and half super-pet. He has established his financial independence from his parents, the ups and downs of sexual relationships are becoming plain to him, and the reality of communal living surrounds him. He is, in short, learning all the skills he will need if he is to build the non-violent society he envisions, and he is learning all this at an age which, given his middle-class roots, is unusually early.

This is just as radical a course as the activist who organizes and attends an unending stream of meetings and protests, or who pursues glamourous adventures on Indian reservations. The fact that he and his friends do a bit of all three is all the more amazing, yet they do not see their day-to-day efforts as particularly useful or important.

Their sense of personhood and purpose does not seem to have any

movement of the early sixties which prepared the ground for the huge youth movement that was to follow (whether such a huge-scale movement will again occur in North America, as is currently the case in Europe, remains to be seen; although the 100,000 students who protested on American campuses last April are an encouraging sign).

There is no conscious age criteria for membership, it is simply that a certain brand of culture, politics, and spirituality appeal to an audience that is predominantly youthful. The other factor which blurs the definition still further is, of course, that the entire membership of such a movement is constantly growing older.

Yet despite the ephemeral nature of youth movements, they do have certain qualities which can sharpen our definition.

In his book *The Challenge of Youth*, a man named Friedrich Heer writes that

been institutionalized in Western culture for no more than 300 years. Before that time, when youth movements would appear, the concept of an intermediate phase between childhood and adulthood would also appear.

This creation of a sub-adult status has always served the interests of the ruling elites who are quick to discredit any social change movement.

When the crisis in a society passed, so did the youth movement, and so did the gulf which had opened up between them and their elders (known today as a generation gap).

So it was that the idea of a 16-year-old naval commander and 14-year-old sailors (as in the American Revolutionary War), or the idea that 12-year-old women were perfectly able to bear and raise children, were not considered fantastic or unreasonable.

Something happened to change the

## By Ted Dymont

One of the people I most wanted to see, during my Christmas visit to Ottawa, was not going to be in town. I was told she was travelling in Mexico, virtually penniless, but apparently having fun.

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We didn't expect her back for several months, at which time she will probably continue her efforts helping prostitutes organize for safety, as well as all her other projects. She had just turned eighteen.

On the night of my arrival, a party was being thrown at an apartment run collectively by other young radicals. I hurried over and was able to talk with many of my old friends.

Unhappily, though, I cannot say I had a good time. In the conversations with my friends, they would repeatedly despair at the aimlessness, cynicism, and in-fighting they saw around them and felt within themselves. The depth of these feelings struck me hard when I learned that one of their most central activists had recently tried to slit his wrists.

It seems that the more one learns about the terrible things humans can do to each other and to the planet on which they live, the more horrific and numerous are the examples one finds. For those who do not turn their backs or slash their wrists, it is often their fate to be completely consumed with the need

blade had left his parents' home; a place where he was treated as half scape-goat and half super-pet. He has established his financial independence from his parents, the ups and downs of sexual relationships are becoming plain to him, and the reality of communal living surrounds him. He is, in short, learning all the skills he will need if he is to build the non-violent society he envisions, and he is learning all this at an age which, given his middle-class roots, is unusually early.

This is just as radical a course as the activist who organizes and attends an unending stream of meetings and protests, or who pursues glamourous adventures on Indian reservations. The fact that he and his friends do a bit of all three is all the more amazing, yet they do not see their day-to-day efforts as particularly useful or important.

Their sense of personhood and purpose does not seem to have any historical perspective from which they can draw strength; something I hope to spark with this article.

In the first place, my friends with their housing collectives, loud music and funny haircuts are part of a very special social movement. They are part of a phenomenon that has been repeated throughout history; a phenomenon called a 'youth movement'.

Whether a youth movement is good or bad depends on what its participants make of it. Take, for example, the wandering bands of young Germans who caused such concern after the first World War as they trooped from town to town living out a hippie-like existence. Eventually, much of their counter-cultural passion for hiking and singing was expropriated by shrewd political parties, like Hitler's, in order to form a base of support that would later become cannon-fodder for the Nazi war machine.

movement of the early sixties which prepared the ground for the huge youth movement that was to follow (whether such a huge-scale movement will again occur in North America, as is currently the case in Europe, remains to be seen; although the 100,000 students who protested on American campuses last April are an encouraging sign).

There is no conscious age criteria for membership, it is simply that a certain brand of culture, politics, and spirituality appeal to an audience that is predominantly youthful. The other factor which blurs the definition still further is, of course, that the entire membership of such a movement is constantly growing older.

Yet despite the ephemeral nature of youth movements, they do have certain qualities which can sharpen our definition.

In his book *The Challenge of Youth*, a man named Friedrich Heer writes that a youth movement can be said to exist when a younger generation have felt, at some definite point in history, disempowered and alienated from the values and institutions of an old generation, and were recognized by that older generation as a counterforce to be denounced as disrespectful, rebellious, and revolutionary. The rejection of existing power structures, and the resulting pursuit of new political ideals, new sexuality and new spirituality, are all characteristics of the great youth movements of history.

The author went on to give many examples of youth movements. One example described how the young people of ancient Greece began, "evolving a sort of counter-culture of their own, openly directed against the established customs of their parents."

Another example was in ancient Rome: "Growing up in the shadow of Sulla's brutal dictatorship, people of

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So it was that the idea of a 16-year-old naval commander and 14-year-old sailors (as in the American Revolutionary War), or the idea that 12-year-old women were perfectly able to bear and raise children, were not considered fantastic or unreasonable.

Something happened to change the role of young people in society; something tied closely to the Industrial Revolution.

As the trade routes expanded, the increasingly powerful merchant class began to chafe at their dependence on the small independent producers (eg. family-run quarries, mills, looms, etc.), and they wanted to control the quality and quantity of production.

In order to do so, they set up work-camps (called factories), into which they coerced the independents; either through economic intimidation, or else by force (the most famous example being the suppression of the anti-industrial Luddites by the police and army).

By this point, people were beginning to labour for a wage, with their 'boss' completely separated, sometimes by distances of hundreds of miles, from the society of his workers, and with no personal stake in their welfare.

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It seems that the more one learns about the terrible things humans can do to each other and to the planet on which they live, the more horrific and numerous are the examples one finds. For those who do not turn their backs or slash their wrists, it is often their fate to be completely consumed with the need to fight 'The Struggle', with their energies coming from hatred, horror, and desperation. The saddest affliction suffered by radicals is that the sheer enormity of the task ahead often blinds us to the small victories which follow in our wake.

For instance, my friend with the razor

can draw strength; something I hope to spark with this article.

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Youth movements often grow up within more adult-oriented movements. Today's youth movement got its big push in the early eighties, when the mass politicization of people around the issue of nuclear weapons was strongest. This birthing process can also be seen in the 'Ban the Bomb' and Civil Rights

when a younger generation have felt, at some definite point in history, disempowered and alienated from the values and institutions of an old generation, and were recognized by that older generation as a counterforce to be denounced as disrespectful, rebellious, and revolutionary. The rejection of existing power structures, and the resulting pursuit of new political ideals, new sexuality and new spirituality, are all characteristics of the great youth movements of history.

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Another example was in ancient Rome: "Growing up in the shadow of Sulla's brutal dictatorship, people of Cicero's age recognized that the ideals entrenched in the minds of their parents were only 'decorative slogans of self interest'. These Roman city dwellers saw themselves as a lost generation, torn between rebellion and resignation."

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By this point, people were beginning to labour for a wage, with their 'boss' completely separated, sometimes by distances of hundreds of miles, from the society of his workers, and with no personal stake in their welfare.

As it became obvious that efficient production led to increased profits, the 'inefficient' parts of the labour force were slowly weeded out; in other words, the very old and the very young. In earlier times, these 'inefficient' people held dignified roles within the economic life of the community, either as keepers

## KICK IT OVER

MARCH 1986

\$1.50

No. 15

Edited and published by the Kick It Over Collective. All correspondence should be sent to:  
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**Subscriptions:** Canada/U.S.A./Australia — \$7.50 for 6 issues; reduced subscriptions available on request, free to prisoners (including psychiatric inmates). U.K. — £4 for 6 issues. Corporations and governments — \$100 for 6 issues (U.S. funds). Other U.S., British or Canadian funds), or send a cheque. Postal money orders from the U.S. and Canada only. If you do send cash, send only in U.S. or Canadian dollars or in British pounds. Book-

stores: consignment orders get 40% off the cover price. Published 4 times a year.

2nd class reg. #5907. ISSN 0823-6526. Indexed in the **Alternate Press Index**. Items submitted for publication must be typed double-spaced. Articles not returned unless accompanied by SASE, international postal coupon (see above) or cash. **DO NOT SEND ORIGINALS!** All letters and articles subject to printing and editing, unless specifically requested otherwise. We reserve the right to not print any letter or article.

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**Circulation:** 1800. Typesetting — \$500. / Printing — \$500. / Mailing — \$250. / Envelopes, etc. — \$100. Previous debt — \$1800. / Donations Received — \$350. / Current debt at the start of this issue — \$1800. These figures are estimates.

# Liberation!

of wisdom or as apprentices; but this was no longer the case.

This process of (un)natural selection still left many jobs where a young person's small size was an asset, such as in the crawlspace within dangerous mining operations, or their ability to slip from peril to peril between the crashing power-looms of the giant textile factories.

Their freedom (to be a wage-slave) was eventually brought to an end by 'social reformers' who successfully campaigned for child labour laws, removing the right to work from those below a certain age. These reformers, who were more concerned about the moral implications of young boys and girls working, swearing and sleeping together than the physical hardship they suffered, completely missed the point; they failed to see that the spirit-breaking toil of industrialism should not be forced on anyone, regardless of age.

Their reforms did nothing for the

drank, gambled, rioted sexually — and worked hard!

But, as the lower classes gained the financial ability to separate and insulate their children from the hated reality around them, and as the upper classes became viewed more and more as the model on which civilized behavior (including child-raising) should be based, even the working class kids found the doors to the adult world slowly closing.

Today, young people have no choice but to enter into a parasitical relationship with their parents, which serves to abort, at every possible point, the maturation process. The eventual shock at entering an adult world of responsibilities, for which we have not been prepared, is usually traumatic, filled with rebellion and hatred for parental authorities, who are busy wondering where they went wrong.

In growing up, young Canadians must also spend between one and two

away from home.

- 5) The right to direct and manage one's own education.
- 6) The right to make and enter into, on the basis of mutual consent, family-like relationships outside one's genetic family.
- 7) The right to vote and to take full part in political affairs.
- 8) The right to all information pertaining to the sensual and reproductive aspects of one's sexuality, and the right to pursue sexual relations with others based on mutual consent.
- 9) The right to work for money.
- 10) The right to receive from the community the same minimum income guarantees extended to adults.
- 11) The right to travel.
- 12) The right to be legally responsible for one's life and acts.
- 13) The right to financial independence and responsibility.

As the practical starting point for young radicals, I would offer the

## SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

have an 18-year-old to sign the lease and a willing landlord. An informal 'underground railway' for runaways is another possibility.

5) The young woman and the young man mentioned at the beginning of this article are both drop-outs. So is the author of this article. However, if you can keep your sanity and your soul, school can be a super place to create a counter-education. This can be done through unusual seminar topics, underground papers and posters, workshops after school or at lunch hour, theatrical productions, or whatever else you can imagine.

6) Affinity groups, collectives of friends, tribes; whatever the name, the idea is basically to create a family-like support system of friends who share similar beliefs. If an outsider feels excluded, one should not judge a clique too harshly if it is not meant to be a public outreach effort.

7) The right to vote is mainly

of wisdom or as apprentices; but this was no longer the case.

This process of (un)natural selection still left many jobs where a young person's small size was an asset, such as in the crawlspace within dangerous mining operations, or their ability to slip from peril to peril between the crashing power-looms of the giant textile factories.

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Their reforms did nothing for the average working-class family who were forced to support their children far longer than ever before. As for the children, they found themselves being forced into an artificially extended period of dependence and, just as the position of women within the home was being eroded by the sudden importance of wage-earning, young people also began losing political power within the family to those who 'brought home the bacon'.

Child labour laws signalled society's first major admission that they felt a need to protect their offspring from the beast of iron and steam which now ruled their lives.

This semi-conscious wish to keep their children innocent (ignorant) of the facts of human existence was only able to be taken to its most extreme by those who could afford to create a completely different reality for their children. So it was that upper class kids in Victorian England had toys, games, and clothes

drank, gambled, rioted sexually — and worked hard!

But, as the lower classes gained the financial ability to separate and insulate their children from the hated reality around them, and as the upper classes became viewed more and more as the model on which civilized behavior (including child-raising) should be based, even the working class kids found the doors to the adult world slowly closing.

Today, young people have no choice but to enter into a parasitical relationship with their parents, which serves to abort, at every possible point, the maturation process. The eventual shock at entering an adult world of responsibilities, for which we have not been prepared, is usually traumatic, filled with rebellion and hatred for parental authorities, who are busy wondering where they went wrong.

In growing up, young Canadians must also spend between one and two decades of their daylight hours locked inside large warehouses until they are made efficient. It is during this schooling process that the child is purportedly prepared for the adult world (by removing her/him from it).

A list of human rights for young people would look a lot like the demands of any other oppressed group, except that a child's primary right is to not have to exercise any rights at all until s/he feels able to shoulder the responsibilities that go with them. This is the only way to stimulate the maturation process as it would take place in a caring, communal society, such as the one we all hope to build.

While the implications of these rights are revolutionary in the long-term, the harsh reality of our anti-child society poses real dangers to children who choose to recapture the rights that have been denied to them (eg. sexual coercion by older people, child-labour ghettos, etc.). Such a Charter of Rights

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8) The right to all information pertaining to the sensual and reproductive aspects of one's sexuality, and the right to pursue sexual relations with others based on mutual consent.

9) The right to work for money.

10) The right to receive from the community the same minimum income guarantees extended to adults.

11) The right to travel.

12) The right to be legally responsible for one's life and acts.

13) The right to financial independence and responsibility.

As the practical starting point for young radicals, I would offer the experiences of the (predominantly highschool-aged) youth movement in Ottawa; these are given beside the right in question.

1) If you want personal dignity, stand up to the ego trips of your elders, call your teachers on a first-name basis as they do with you, protest separate eating, smoking, and shitting areas, and in all ways seek to integrate yourselves, as equals, into the lives of your 'superiors'.

2) If your elders do not respect your privacy, you can force the issue into the open by installing a lock on your door, by mucking around in **their** rooms or reading **their** diaries and letters.

3) A judge once ruled that one young woman who was caught shop-lifting should stay away from Youth Action for Peace for a number of months. Although she showed a startling amount of obedience, she continued meeting with many of her YAP friends. The sense of community was greatly

have an 18-year-old to sign the lease and a willing landlord. An informal 'underground railway' for runaways is another possibility.

5) The young woman and the young man mentioned at the beginning of this article are both drop-outs. So is the author of this article. However, if you can keep your sanity and your soul, school can be a super place to create a counter-education. This can be done through unusual seminar topics, underground papers and posters, workshops after school or at lunch hour, theatrical productions, or whatever else you can imagine.

6) Affinity groups, collectives of friends, tribes; whatever the name, the idea is basically to create a family-like support system of friends who share similar beliefs. If an outsider feels excluded, one should not judge a clique too harshly if it is not meant to be a public outreach effort.

7) The right to vote is mainly symbolic, anyway; especially beyond the municipal level. The real ability to influence public policy lies in campaigns using demonstrations, civil disobedience, spray-painting, sabotage, public outreach, and the ability to create viable alternatives.

8) Workshops on sexism, on heterosexism, on what turns us on, and how to have babies when we want them, and prevent babies when we don't.

9)-13) These rights remain inaccessible, except for the right to travel which is obvious, you "run away".

Like the women's movement, young people must learn to fight their way off the pedestal on which they've been placed, and reintegrate themselves into the adult world of rights and responsibilities. Their struggle can be aided by sympathetic adults, but the final work of liberation must be done by themselves. □

average working-class family who were forced to support their children far longer than ever before. As for the children, they found themselves being forced into an artificially extended period of dependence and, just as the position of women within the home was being eroded by the sudden importance of wage-earning, young people also began losing political power within the family to those who 'brought home the bacon'.

Child labour laws signalled society's first major admission that they felt a need to protect their offspring from the beast of iron and steam which now ruled their lives.

This semi-conscious wish to keep their children innocent (ignorant) of the facts of human existence was only able to be taken to its most extreme by those who could afford to create a completely different reality for their children. So it was that upper class kids in Victorian England had toys, games, and clothes specifically designed for them, and lived in houses (where many of the rooms were out-of-bounds) with parents whom they could see only at special times; while lower-class children still lived in the adult world, where they

decades of their daylight hours locked inside large warehouses until they are made efficient. It is during this schooling process that the child is purportedly prepared for the adult world (by removing her/him from it).

A list of human rights for young people would look a lot like the demands of any other oppressed group, except that a child's primary right is to not have to exercise any rights at all until s/he feels able to shoulder the responsibilities that go with them. This is the only way to stimulate the maturation process as it would take place in a caring, communal society, such as the one we all hope to build.

While the implications of these rights are revolutionary in the long-term, the harsh reality of our anti-child society poses real dangers to children who choose to recapture the rights that have been denied to them (eg. sexual coercion by older people, child-labour ghettos, etc.). Such a Charter of Rights might read as follows:

- 1) The right to personal dignity.
- 2) The right to privacy.
- 3) The right to associate with and seek counsel from one's peers.
- 4) The right to separate living space

experiences of the (predominantly highschool-aged) youth movement in Ottawa; these are given beside the right in question.

1) If you want personal dignity, stand up to the ego trips of your elders, call your teachers on a first-name basis as they do with you, protest separate eating, smoking, and shitting areas, and in all ways seek to integrate yourselves, as equals, into the lives of your 'superiors'.

2) If your elders do not respect your privacy, you can force the issue into the open by installing a lock on your door, by mucking around in **their** rooms or reading **their** diaries and letters.

3) A judge once ruled that one young woman who was caught shop-lifting should stay away from Youth Action for Peace for a number of months. Although she showed a startling amount of obedience, she continued meeting with many of her YAP friends. The sense of community was greatly strengthened by the common identification with alternative music organized by bands or groups like Youth Culture Promotions and Rock Against Racism.

4) Set up a housing collective if you

symbolic, anyway; especially beyond the municipal level. The real ability to influence public policy lies in campaigns using demonstrations, civil disobedience, spray-painting, sabotage, public outreach, and the ability to create viable alternatives.

8) Workshops on sexism, on heterosexism, on what turns us on, and how to have babies when we want them, and prevent babies when we don't.

9)-13) These rights remain inaccessible, except for the right to travel which is obvious, you "run away".

Like the women's movement, young people must learn to fight their way off the pedestal on which they've been placed, and reintegrate themselves into the adult world of rights and responsibilities. Their struggle can be aided by sympathetic adults, but the final work of liberation must be done by themselves. □

*The author is available for workshops for further discussion and can be reached through KIO or at (416) 868-0113.*

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# reschooling society

## starting a free university

by Alexandra Devon

When I told the head of the English department that I was thinking of changing universities because I wasn't getting enough stimulation from the experience, he tried at great length to dissuade me. Finally in exasperation he said, "What you want is for people to sit you down and talk philosophy with you." Sheepishly, I admitted that this was somewhat true. "Well," he said flatly, "you won't find it elsewhere any more than here." As it turned out, he was right, which is not to say that I was wrong in searching for a community of learning but that most 'higher' educational institutions are not set up to meet these needs. What function universities do perform is to keep an otherwise large section of the workforce (or the unemployed) many of whom could be effective agents of social change, amassing huge debts, developing serious neuroses and losing any sense of what they might be doing on the planet.

A few years after leaving university, when I became involved in politics, I found that the left was not necessarily any better at creating the sort of environment I felt was conducive to learning. The predominant form is the conference where several hundred people come together for a couple of days of frenetic activity with great excitement and lots of energy which dissipates shortly after the closing plenary. Ideas are exchanged but rarely is community created. Strategies are compared but new courses of action are not usually

or community, I proposed trying to hold an Alternative Futures conference where we could start envisioning a future and talking about ways of working towards it. A dozen or so people attended the organizing meeting where we floundered about trying to figure out how large the conference would be and who it was aimed at. Finally a native woman, Lisa Chipps Sawyer, suggested that what we needed was a search conference to clarify our goals to ourselves and to begin to establish a basis for consensus from which to operate. This was a turning point. We moved away from the outward directed conference to a more inward directed community-creating forum.

### The Search Conference

*A search conference is a simple but highly concentrated planning process whereby participants learn to deal with their identified problem or issue; it is a catalyst to stimulate creative thinking in a shared appreciation of how change affects everyone.*

The search conference model appealed to us because it was people and process-oriented, anti-hierarchical and both visionary and practical. Although we altered the process to suit our needs, concentrating what is often a week-long process into the space of weekend, we retained the essential five stages. Through a combination of small and large group meetings, we worked through the following steps as they related to the problem of creating lasting

'alternative economy' and a host of other projects. In fact, there were so many ideas that as we drew to the close of our allotted time, it seemed that all this energy and draining work was in danger of being lost in the enormity of the possibilities ahead of us. Clearly we couldn't do everything at once. But which one thing could we choose over all the others?

What was clear was that we wanted to work toward an alternate society. This society would be made up of institutions of our own design. But in order to accomplish these objectives we felt that we needed to educate ourselves and find a way of joining together, creating trust and community. As an eleventh-hour measure, someone suggested that a Free University be established as a catalyst and focus for the goals of creating a community and working toward the creation of an alternate society. Not everyone was pleased with this suggestion. Some wanted to focus on alternative economics directly. In the absence of any other clear proposals which were easily adopted, the idea of the Free University was taken up and a meeting was called for its future development. It was hoped that through its educational forums, the Free University would, in addition to creating a community of kindred spirits, serve as a catalyst for alternative economic projects.

A group of close to 20 people coalesced around the Free University idea to form the planning group. Now a year later a stable core of eleven mem-

money for events.

Other aspects of 'keeping it free' include trying to remain as accessible as possible to all people with a social change perspective. We have tried to make the format and the experience of the workshops as empowering as possible for both the presenters or facilitators and participants. We've learned that people who attend our functions are not passive consumers and really want to be involved in the education process, so we have geared the format with this in mind. Long-winded panelists and more than a couple of speakers in an evening strain the patience of people who feel (and rightly so) that they have something to contribute. We have found that large group discussions, alternating with small group sharing allow for general discussion and in-depth personal sharing.

Our subjects have ranged from ecology to feminism to alternative economics. Specific workshops have included Male Sexuality, Psychology and Social Change, Radical Paganism, Community Gardening and the Green Movement around the World. Some of the workshops have created their own spin-offs in the forms of an urban gardening collective, an Earthkin group which meets to discuss spirituality and related topics, and a community switchboard.

In the year which we have been operating, we have made some progress towards our goals of creating a community where people can share their

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A few years after leaving university, when I became involved in politics, I found that the left was not necessarily any better at creating the sort of environment I felt was conducive to learning. The predominant form is the conference where several hundred people come together for a couple of days of frenetic activity with great excitement and lots of energy which dissipates shortly after the closing plenary. Ideas are exchanged but rarely is community created. Strategies are compared but new courses of action are not usually forthcoming. The majority of speakers (unless the conference is expressly feminist) are generally male, as are the questioners from the audience. Time is weighted to the 'experts' with brief periods set aside for stilted exchanges between the floor and podium. This outcome is often contrary to the wishes of the organizers whose stated goals are the creation of a participatory environment where people will make the sort of connections necessary to make social change happen. But the constraints of the format become the constraints of the results. After all, you can't have action without consensus; you can't have consensus without a community and you can't create a community in a weekend. This is not to say that conferences are never useful but that in a vast number of cases they are, at best, premature.

It was after one stimulating but ultimately disappointing conference that I began to name my frustration more specifically. The conference, Com-

begin to establish a basis for consensus from which to operate. This was a turning point. We moved away from the outward directed conference to a more inward directed community-creating forum.

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**Stage One:** First we looked at the history of the 'problem' of trying to create an alternate society, focussing mainly on the last ten to fifteen years and looking at how the present has evolved from the past. The purpose of this activity is to help participants develop a shared understanding of the identified 'problem' and a shared appreciation of the complexity and interrelationship of the focus of our attention to the wider environment.

**Stage Two:** Next we shifted our attention to the future fifteen years and projected current trends into the future assuming we were to do nothing. This developed a shared picture of the 'probable future'.

**Stage Three:** After the preceding dismal exercise, we concentrated on dreaming of a different, a 'desirable' future. This helped create an awareness that no matter how diverse our interests may be in the present, we all share many

society would be made up of institutions of our own design. But in order to accomplish these objectives we felt that we needed to educate ourselves and find a way of joining together, creating trust and community. As an eleventh-hour measure, someone suggested that a Free University be established as a catalyst and focus for the goals of creating a community and working toward the creation of an alternate society. Not everyone was pleased with this suggestion. Some wanted to focus on alternative economics directly. In the absence of any other clear proposals which were easily adopted, the idea of the Free University was taken up and a meeting was called for its future development. It was hoped that through its educational forums, the Free University would, in addition to creating a community of kindred spirits, serve as a catalyst for alternative economic projects.

A group of close to 20 people coalesced around the Free University idea to form the planning group. Now a year later a stable core of eleven members remain. Establishing a leaderless group where all opinions are heard and respected is time-consuming but very worthwhile and necessary to establish a learning situation in keeping with our ideals. After much discussion and debate we agreed on the following principles as basic to our undertaking:

1) that learning be grounded in the real world and in the commitment to change it, that dialogue should result in action;

2) that learning be an empowering process whereby one sharpens one's capacity for critical consciousness and for self-reliant activity; and

3) that there be no artificial division between teachers and learners — we all have something to teach and we all have something to learn.

Some (but not all) of the members of the Free University collective identify as anarchists and certainly our forms of organization are anarchistic but our stance in our newsletter and at forums is

have geared the format with this in mind. Long-winded panelists and more than a couple of speakers in an evening strain the patience of people who feel (and rightly so) that they have something to contribute. We have found that large group discussions, alternating with small group sharing allow for general discussion and in-depth personal sharing.

Our subjects have ranged from ecology to feminism to alternative economics. Specific workshops have included Male Sexuality, Psychology and Social Change, Radical Paganism, Community Gardening and the Green Movement around the World. Some of the workshops have created their own spin-offs in the forms of an urban gardening collective, an Earthkin group which meets to discuss spirituality and related topics, and a community switchboard.

In the year which we have been operating, we have made some progress towards our goals of creating a community where people can share their ideas and begin to practice mutual aid through setting up alternative institutions. However, this is only the beginning and there are many potential pitfalls ahead. Maintaining community and commitment in an urban environment is difficult because of the frenetic pace and atomizing effect of cities on people. Even 'success' poses problems. How do new people get integrated into the administration of the Free University (now an eleven-person collective in which a high degree of trust and compatibility of vision has been developed)? How can lateral projects be encouraged to avoid centralization and hierarchy and incorporate new energy?

Facing these dilemmas on this small scale and dealing with them is imperative especially for those of us who envision a future which is comprised of smaller, more decentralized ecological units. In trying to create such a future in our present-day lives we come up against the limitations of our conditioning and the ever-present problems of the need to

forthcoming. The majority of speakers (unless the conference is expressly feminist) are generally male, as are the questioners from the audience. Time is weighted to the 'experts' with brief periods set aside for stilted exchanges between the floor and podium. This outcome is often contrary to the wishes of the organizers whose stated goals are the creation of a participatory environment where people will make the sort of connections necessary to make social change happen. But the constraints of the format become the constraints of the results. After all, you can't have action without consensus; you can't have consensus without a community and you can't create a community in a weekend. This is not to say that conferences are never useful but that in a vast number of cases they are, at best, premature.

It was after one stimulating but ultimately disappointing conference that I began to name my frustration more specifically. The conference, Community Solutions to Sexual Violence, was a brave attempt to fuse feminist concerns for the safety of victims and survivors of sexual violence and the libertarian/abolitionist desires for an alternative to prisons. What underlay many of the solutions put forward was the idea of a 'caring community'. This was fine in theory but where was this 'caring community'? It was certainly not anywhere I had lived in North America, which is not to say that these communities do not exist, but that they are certainly not the rule. It began to occur to me that the more idealistic and visionary we were the more rooted we also had to be to make these ideas work and have credibility.

With the idea that we had to think more holistically about a future society

social change.

**Stage One:** First we looked at the history of the 'problem' of trying to create an alternate society, focussing mainly on the last ten to fifteen years and looking at how the present has evolved from the past. The purpose of this activity is to help participants develop a shared understanding of the identified 'problem' and a shared appreciation of the complexity and interrelationship of the focus of our attention to the wider environment.

**Stage Two:** Next we shifted our attention to the future fifteen years and projected current trends into the future assuming we were to do nothing. This developed a shared picture of the 'probable future'.

**Stage Three:** After the preceding dismal exercise, we concentrated on dreaming of a different, a 'desirable' future. This helped create an awareness that no matter how diverse our interests may be in the present, we all share many basic long-term goals. There was a surprising amount of unanimity of vision among the thirty or so people who came to this public meeting, most of whom were strangers to each other. The vision which emerged was of an ecological, decentralized society, although there were some differences, for example regarding how much technology was desirable.

**Stage Four:** In the fourth session we listed various obstacles and opportunities which lay in the path of our 'desirable' future.

**Stage Five:** In the last stage, people named task groups which might help to move us closer to our desirable future: these included setting up a Free University, establishing a centre for a bookstore or coffee house, creating an

ideas and begin to practice mutual aid through setting up alternative institutions. However, this is only the beginning and there are many potential pitfalls ahead. Maintaining community and commitment in an urban environment is difficult because of the frenetic pace and atomizing effect of cities on people. Even 'success' poses problems. How do new people get integrated into the administration of the Free University (now an eleven-person collective in which a high degree of trust and compatibility of vision has been developed)? How can lateral projects be encouraged to avoid centralization and hierarchy and incorporate new energy?

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3) that there be no artificial division between teachers and learners — we all have something to teach and we all have something to learn.

Some (but not all) of the members of the Free University collective identify as anarchists and certainly our forms of organization are anarchistic but our stance in our newsletter and at forums is non-partisan. This has allowed us to be both broad and synthetic in our course offerings and has enabled us to reach beyond a limited community to a much wider group which instinctively shares our concerns.

### Keeping it Free

In terms of space, we have been fortunate to find a community centre which has let us make use of their auditorium or other rooms with no charge. Advertising has also been relatively inexpensive in that a freely distributed alternative entertainment magazine carries our workshop offerings for free. We also publish a computer generated newsletter and posters at low cost which we distribute ourselves. Because our expenses are so low we have not had to charge

members remain. Establishing a leaderless group where all opinions are heard and respected is time-consuming but very worthwhile and necessary to establish a learning situation in keeping with our ideals. After much discussion and debate we agreed on the following principles as basic to our undertaking:

Facing these dilemmas on this small scale and dealing with them is imperative especially for those of us who envision a future which is comprised of smaller, more decentralized ecological units. In trying to create such a future in our present-day lives we come up against the limitations of our conditioning and the ever-present problems of the need to survive economically and spiritually in a hostile, deadening environment. However, it should be noted, on the positive side, that in a recent Free University collective meeting, the majority of collective members stated that they felt the collective functioned better than any other group they'd been involved in which led to speculation as to why that was. Perhaps it is because the project combines education, support and action. Whether the Free University ultimately succeeds or fails, we have started to break through our own apathy and isolation and reach out to others in a way which hopefully enriches and empowers us all. □

# *an anarchist guide to organizing*

by John Englart

*This article, appearing in a slightly different form, was published December 1985 in Issue 44 of **Chain Reaction**, the magazine published by a Collective of Friends of the Earth (Australia). The article was originally written in May 1985.*

The Peace movement and the Ecology movement are facing a crisis. A crisis of organization and of strategy for eliminating the violence of nation states, corporations, and the violence in the social relationships of society. A crisis of means and ends. The harmony of means and ends is essential to achieve a co-operative and caring society based on ecological principles. Our methods of action are as important as the goals we seek.

Over the last two years in Australia we have seen the growth of the Greens, and the more spectacular formation, growth and split in the Nuclear Disarmament Party (N.D.P.). A call has also been made for a "Red and Green Coalition". All of these have in common an attempt to organize people in the Peace and Ecology movements into a political party to achieve some measure of reform and change.

My contention is that the political party style of organization results in the actual continuation of the problems we need to face. We need to look at how political parties contribute to and help maintain the pattern of domination of human by human, and human of nature. We need to look at the value system

bute to alienation and feelings of powerlessness by members and supporters. Running election campaigns will drain money, time, and energy from organizing grassroots campaigns directly on issues, to trying to win more votes.

When candidates are successfully selected, there are constant pressures to: compromise principles for the sake of limited reforms; for the elected representatives to have more power than other members in the party; and for a cult of expertise to develop.

The alternative to party organization is the small group, sometimes called affinity group or collective. It is in the small group where our values, and social conditioned aggressive, domineering, submissive and competitive behaviour, can be challenged and counteracted. Individuals can feel a sense of their own power to achieve changes in themselves and society. Through building networks of collectives, affinity groups, and individuals we can achieve a grassroots culture of resistance based on initiative, co-operation and solidarity. We can nurture non-exploitative lifestyles, undermining domination, the basis of hierarchical society.

It is the small group where people gain support from each other in their attempts to act differently; and to break with social roles assigned to them. The small group can create free space where individuals can question submission and obedience to authority, sex role condi-

tions. This builds group cohesion and trust. It also makes for better quality decisions. Group members learn to practice values and learn skills which foster better relationships on both interpersonal and community levels. Consensus demands that members of the group be more caring, responsible and fair with each other.

The small group gives individuals a range of new skills and values, and a working analysis of power relationships on the personal and social levels. And most important, it empowers individuals to change themselves, overcoming their own fears and powerlessness, and to act for social change in the community.

As individuals, we are isolated and powerless to change society. As a part of many networks and federations of small groups and individuals working together, we can be effective. The range of activities a small group may engage in are endless. Some may choose an educational project, such as publishing a newspaper, running a bookshop or resource centre, or running workshops on particular issues or skills. Others may be more action-oriented: organizing marches, vigils, direct actions. Still others may be for building alternatives to hierarchical values: agricultural communes and health food co-ops and shops; appropriate technology co-operatives; and housing collectives. Some groups may be purely

sent. I choose to label these ideas as Ecological Anarchism or Green Anarchism: but these are only my labels to identify ideas and a method of human organization. Much of the recent experimentation with small group structures and consciousness raising has been re-entering and enlivening the anarchist tradition.

It is perhaps significant that the centenary of anarchist organization in Australia, will be celebrated in Melbourne in May 1986. The anarchist movement in Australia has had its history and ideas consistently suppressed and violently distorted. This centenary celebration should help to cast a new light on the influence of anarchism in Australia's radical past, and at the same time provide valuable insights into the future of anarchist ideas and their impact on social change in the future.

The following books and pamphlets I found useful and inspiring while preparing this article.

1. **Towards an Ecological Society** by Murray Bookchin. (Black Rose Books).
2. **Making Nonviolent Revolution** by Howard Clarke (pamphlet). (Peace News/Mushroom).
3. **It'll Make a Man of You ... A Feminist View of the Arms Race** by Penny Strange (pamphlet). (Peace News/Mushroom).
4. **Politics of Nonviolent Action** by

crisis of means and ends. The harmony of means and ends is essential to achieve a co-operative and caring society based on ecological principles. Our methods of action are as important as the goals we seek.

Over the last two years in Australia we have seen the growth of the Greens, and the more spectacular formation, growth and split in the Nuclear Disarmament Party (N.D.P.). A call has also been made for a "Red and Green Coalition". All of these have in common an attempt to organize people in the Peace and Ecology movements into a political party to achieve some measure of reform and change.

My contention is that the political party style of organization results in the actual continuation of the problems we need to face. We need to look at how political parties contribute to and help maintain the pattern of domination of human by human, and human of nature. We need to look at the value system underlying domination and hierarchy. We need to examine how power is used in society to prevent radical social change. And we need to adopt methods of organization in keeping with our goals — to decentralize power and decision-making, and to empower individuals to think and act for social change.

The form of political organization needed to participate in the parliamentary process will most likely be a hierarchy. Electoral campaigning means leaders and candidates are selected to represent their followers. Questions such as: who decides policies, how decision-making will occur, what structures are used, who is selected as candidates, all have to be answered. To be electorally effective it needs thousands of members. Because of the size of the organization and its attempt to use a system based on hierarchical values, there will be pressure to adopt many of those values in the structure of the party. There will emerge leaders and followers, some people will have more influence in decisions than others, and a

small group, sometimes called affinity group or collective. It is in the small group where our values, and social conditioned aggressive, domineering, submissive and competitive behaviour, can be challenged and counteracted. Individuals can feel a sense of their own power to achieve changes in themselves and society. Through building networks of collectives, affinity groups, and individuals we can achieve a grassroots culture of resistance based on initiative, co-operation and solidarity. We can nurture non-exploitative lifestyles, undermining domination, the basis of hierarchical society.

It is the small group where people gain support from each other in their attempts to act differently; and to break with social roles assigned to them. The small group can create free space where individuals can question submission and obedience to authority, sex role conditioning, and power relationships. It provides an opportunity for individuals to analyze power and domination from shared experiences, and to develop new skills, new behaviour, new non-hierarchical and non-exploitative lifestyles.

There are still dangers in the operation of a small group. If the personal politics and power relationships in a small group are not acknowledged, discussed and confronted, the small group will become a tyranny of structurelessness. Informal hierarchies do occur in small groups, and power relationships exist when there are two or more people.

A basic aim of a small group should be to study the power relationships, and formulate mechanisms attempting to regulate power. These structures should include: rotation of all tasks and skills like meeting facilitation and minutes keeping; speaking in a certain order; spaces to allow emotions and feelings to be expressed; spaces to allow criticism and affirmation of individuals and the group.

A further useful mechanism is con-

tinuous self-evaluation by the group. This is the most important, it empowers individuals to change themselves, overcoming their own fears and powerlessness, and to act for social change in the community.

As individuals, we are isolated and powerless to change society. As a part of many networks and federations of small groups and individuals working together, we can be effective. The range of activities a small group may engage in are endless. Some may choose an educational project, such as publishing a newspaper, running a bookshop or resource centre, or running workshops on particular issues or skills. Others may be more action-oriented: organizing marches, vigils, direct actions. Still others may be for building alternatives to hierarchical values: agricultural communes and health food co-ops and shops; appropriate technology co-operatives; and housing collectives. Some groups may be purely consciousness-raising groups. The importance of all these tasks is that they form part of a counter-culture to the predominant hierarchical values based on domination and exploitation.

Occasionally, there will be the need for small groups to work together on some project or action. Co-ordinating structures will be necessary. Reaching consensus among all the small groups or individuals participating may be more difficult, but is still realizable and desirable. In such situations the autonomy of the small group must be respected. If it is not, the co-ordinating structure will become an elitist central control, another hierarchy imposing its will on the people.

## RESOURCES

Many of the ideas for this article come from the anarchist or libertarian tradition. Much of the recent experimentation with forms of organization and structures has come from the

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4. **Politics of Nonviolent Action** by Gene Sharp (3 volumes). (Porter Sargeant).
5. **Collectives in the Spanish Revolution** by Gaston Leval. (Freedom Press).
6. **Manual for a Living Revolution, Building United Judgement**, and other titles published by New Society Publishers in the USA.
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## NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

John Englart is presently a member of the Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop Collective, a non-profit/anti-profit bookshop in Sydney. He has been a supporter of Friends of the Earth (Sydney) since 1975. Since opening in 1982, the Redfern Black Rose Collective has used small group processes and structures to enhance the effectiveness of the collective meetings and decisions, and the

in society to prevent radical social change. And we need to adopt methods of organization in keeping with our goals — to decentralize power and decision-making, and to empower individuals to think and act for social change.

The form of political organization needed to participate in the parliamentary process will most likely be a hierarchy. Electoral campaigning means leaders and candidates are selected to represent their followers. Questions such as: who decides policies, how decision-making will occur, what structures are used, who is selected as candidates, all have to be answered. To be electorally effective it needs thousands of members. Because of the size of the organization and its attempt to use a system based on hierarchical values, there will be pressure to adopt many of those values in the structure of the party. There will emerge leaders and followers, some people will have more influence in decisions than others, and a tyranny of the minority if majority rule decision-making is used. These contri-

analyze power and domination from shared experiences, and to develop new skills, new behaviour, new non-hierarchical and non-exploitative lifestyles.

There are still dangers in the operation of a small group. If the personal politics and power relationships in a small group are not acknowledged, discussed and confronted, the small group will become a tyranny of structurelessness. Informal hierarchies do occur in small groups, and power relationships exist when there are two or more people.

A basic aim of a small group should be to study the power relationships, and formulate mechanisms attempting to regulate power. These structures should include: rotation of all tasks and skills like meeting facilitation and minutes keeping; speaking in a certain order; spaces to allow emotions and feelings to be expressed; spaces to allow criticism and affirmation of individuals and the group.

A further useful mechanism is consensus decision-making. This process of decision-making encourages the par-

form part of a counter-culture to the predominant hierarchical values based on domination and exploitation.

Occasionally, there will be the need for small groups to work together on some project or action. Co-ordinating structures will be necessary. Reaching consensus among all the small groups or individuals participating may be more difficult, but is still realizable and desirable. In such situations the autonomy of the small group must be respected. If it is not, the co-ordinating structure will become an elitist central control, another hierarchy imposing its will on the people.

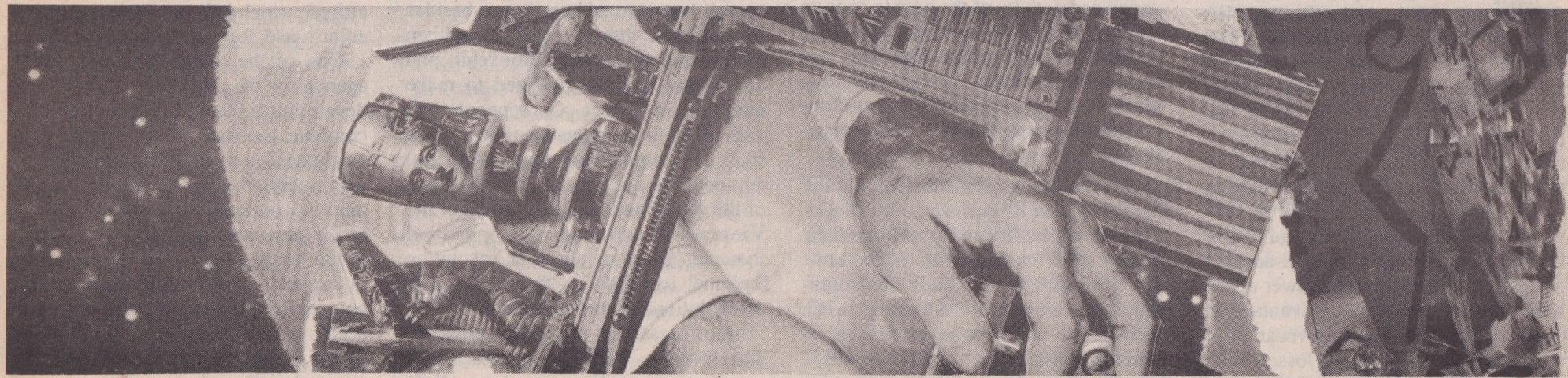
## RESOURCES

Many of the ideas for this article come from the anarchist or libertarian tradition. Much of the recent experimentation with forms of organization and structures has come from the Feminist, Pacifist and Ecological movements of the late 1960's to the pre-

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by Ron Hayley

I want to talk about the 60's. I, like many other people am a product of that period. Politicized in '68, I later went on to embrace the Maoism so prevalent in the latter part of the decade. I am interested in the 60's, not mainly for nostalgic reasons, but because I feel it could happen again — soon. Perhaps even in the latter part of this decade. Maybe in the '90's. I'm not sure. When I pose the question: why did the 60's fail? I don't mean to suggest that we aren't a lot further ahead for everything that happened, only that we could have gone even further.

Periods of radical upheaval are funny things. People are inexperienced; only in hindsight do they develop 20/20 vision. There are so many factors beyond one's control. But the 60's ended the way they did in part because the movement was riddled with contradictions. I would like to analyze three of these but, before beginning, I would like to mention that I am writing about the American experience only. One book which deals with the Canadian experience is Myrna Kos-tash's *Long Way Back Home*<sup>1</sup>.

One of the main contradictions of the 60's was the lack of feminist analysis on the part of the male honchos who led the movement. This manifested itself, among other things, in fatuous rhetoric. The following is an example from the White Panther Party's "Minister of Defense", Pun Plamondon:

*Che was a doctor, Fidel was a lawyer, yet they stood with the people. With the workers and peasants. They could have thought only of themselves and tried only for individual freedom.*



Student waves a black flag at Guardsmen who later opened fire/Howard E. Ruffner

# (WHY) DID THE SIXTIES FAIL?

this day, students getting involved in anti-apartheid or Central America work are forced to turn to Marxism to get a (mis)understanding of current world events. It is my hope that this will change.

The third and final contradiction is related to the one just mentioned. There was no framework for reconciling the needs and outlook of middle-class activists (predominantly white) and poor, Black and oppressed sectors of the population who were also moved to activity in that decade. Many young whites were concerned with personal liberation, with discovering their own bodies and feelings, with becoming more fully human, but they were also concerned with social justice and eradicating the evils affecting those less fortunate than themselves. The oppressed often viewed the former concerns with suspicion and, in the lingo of Marxism-Leninism, these strivings were equated with "individualism" and the "decadence" of the bourgeoisie. Some even went so far as to advocate the robotization and crew-cut culture of the assembly-line worker. In the early days of the Maoist movement, it was considered suspect to eat anything but white bread — after all, that's what the workers ate.

But if the concerns of middle-class activists rested on a cushion of privilege, they were not on that account necessarily to be dismissed. Many workers themselves responded to the monotony of the assembly line by 'tuning in, turning on, and dropping out'. They were no more interested in the mindless rhetoric of their Maoist 'saviors' than were the hippies. As it happened, then, 'the two sides became polarized into "either/or" proposi-

gone even further.

Periods of radical upheaval are funny things. People are inexperienced; only in hindsight do they develop 20/20 vision. There are so many factors beyond one's control. But the 60's ended the way they did in part because the movement was riddled with contradictions. I would like to analyze three of these but, before beginning, I would like to mention that I am writing about the American experience only. One book which deals with the Canadian experience is Myrna Kos-tash's *Long Way Back Home*<sup>1</sup>.

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*Che was a doctor, Fidel was a lawyer, yet they stood with the people. With the workers and peasants. They could have thought only of themselves and strived only for individual freedom, instead they went to the people, they dedicated their lives to the liberation of the people. This is what we must do to earn the name Revolutionary. We must side with the people, we must strive for the liberation of all the oppressed peoples, the peoples who are oppressed as a race, oppressed as a people, oppressed as a class, when these people are free then we can turn our attention and our energy to liberating the individual. At this time to work solely for individual freedom is not answering the needs of the people, the oppressed peoples are oppressed as a group, not as individuals and we must side with the oppressed peoples.... We must teach the people through example, we must show the people Revolutionary Organization, Revolutionary Discipline, and Revolutionary Violence. Organize, Discipline, Guns! There is only one answer to the crimes committed against the people and that is Revolutionary Violence. The people will write the final*



Student waves a black flag at Guardsmen who later opened fire/Howard E. Ruffner

# (WHY) DID THE SIXTIES FAIL?

Millions of people from all strata of the population were ready to aid or at least give tacit support to a revolutionary alternative, as evidenced by the cocktail parties organized on their behalf by the likes of Leonard Bernstein (conductor of the New York Philharmonic), but the Panthers' base of support in their own community proved weak. Carl Oglesby, one of the most intelligent and least dogmatic of the SDS leaders, offered this analysis of the Panthers in an article written at the end of the decade:

*The Panthers did not organize the ghetto.... So far as I know, the breakfast-for-children program represents the only serious attempt to relate concretely, practically, broadly, and institutionally to the black urban community.... Nothing else, in fact, gives*

position of women in the revolution is prone".

If the Panthers did little to advance the cause of feminism, it was the experience of women in the civil rights movement that permitted them to draw comparisons between their own oppression and that of Blacks, for whom oppression was as much a cultural and psychological phenomena as it was economic<sup>4</sup>. Sexism, like racism, was a matter of everyday life; it came as much from the underclass as from the upper class even if it was the upper class who stacked the political and socio-economic deck. Inspired by a rediscovery of feminist writings, women's liberation groups sprang up all across the country — beginning in New York and Chicago in '67 and '68. Redstockings<sup>5</sup> and New York Radical Feminists are among the better known groups from that period.

concerned with social justice and eradicating the evils affecting those less fortunate than themselves. The oppressed often viewed the former concerns with suspicion and, in the lingo of Marxism-Leninism, these strivings were equated with "individualism" and the "decadence" of the bourgeoisie. Some even went so far as to advocate the robotization and crew-cut culture of the assembly-line worker. In the early days of the Maoist movement, it was considered suspect to eat anything but white bread — after all, that's what the workers ate.

But if the concerns of middle-class activists rested on a cushion of privilege, they were not on that account necessarily to be dismissed. Many workers themselves responded to the monotony of the assembly line by 'tuning in, turning on, and dropping out'. They were no more interested in the mindless rhetoric of their Maoist 'saviors' than were the hippies. As it happened, then, "the two sides became polarized into 'either ... or' propositions as though oppression can be defined in only one of two ways: spiritual or material, psychic or economic, alienative or exploitative!"<sup>7</sup>

**I**t is a contradiction, but true nonetheless, that cultures which are the more 'materially underdeveloped' often place a higher premium than ours on spiritual development and dance and ritual. Unfortunately, imperialism in the Third World often gives people the worst of both worlds: it has given them the economic insecurity of capitalism (intensified ten times over) and taken away people's culture, replacing it with sheer want. And hence movements in the Third world often come to fit the Marxist model that material needs are the bedrock and all else is luxury. Fortunately, Native and other indigenous peoples are beginning to challenge this analytic approach, and are rejecting the labelling of their own cultures as 'primitive' and 'underdeveloped'. In

dedicated their lives to the liberation of the people. This is what we must do to earn the name Revolutionary. We must side with the people, we must strive for the liberation of all the oppressed peoples, the peoples who are oppressed as a race, oppressed as a people, oppressed as a class, when these people are free then we can turn our attention and our energy to liberating the individual. At this time to work solely for individual freedom is not answering the needs of the people, the oppressed peoples are oppressed as a group, not as individuals and we must side with the oppressed peoples.... We must teach the people through example, we must show the people Revolutionary Organization, Revolutionary Discipline, and Revolutionary Violence. Organize, Discipline, Guns! There is only one answer to the crimes committed against the people and that is Revolutionary Violence. The people will write the final history, we are the people. Right On!<sup>2</sup>.

**A**nother feature was the resort to violent tactics. One group, in particular, the Black Panther Party, set the tone of the rest of the left by its gun-toting militance and rhetoric of "Off the Pig". The Panthers were an extreme response to the extreme oppression of Black people in the ghettos of America. Their unflinching courage in the face of the 'armies of occupation' was a source of inspiration and radicalization for me and many others, but their strategy of "revolutionary suicide" (the title of one of Huey Newton's books) was ill-advised in light of the superior firepower of the state, and the police took advantage of every opportunity (with provocation or otherwise) to inflict heavy losses, with the result that twenty-eight Panthers were murdered in a three-year period.

Millions of people from all strata of the population were ready to aid or at least give tacit support to a revolutionary alternative, as evidenced by the cocktail parties organized on their behalf by the likes of Leonard Bernstein (conductor of the New York Philharmonic), but the Panthers' base of support in their own community proved weak. Carl Oglesby, one of the most intelligent and least dogmatic of the SDS leaders, offered this analysis of the Panthers in an article written at the end of the decade:

*The Panthers did not organize the ghetto.... So far as I know, the breakfast-for-children program represents the only serious attempt to relate concretely, practically, broadly, and institutionally to the black urban community.... Nothing else, in fact, gives stature, credibility, and social meaning to the gun; for the ghetto, as such, neither can be nor should be defended. Only when the ghetto is being transformed, de-ghettoized, by the self-organized activity of the people does its militant self-defense become a real political possibility. The Panthers are in trouble because ... (of) the .... absence ... of real activities, real social programs in the black (community)..<sup>3</sup>*

Ultimately, a post-mortem on the Panthers must be performed by Blacks themselves, but it can be said that their macho style (characteristic of the lumpen proletariat) and their confrontational rhetoric reinforced tendencies in a movement which was already profoundly masculinist. As late as 1968, the Panthers were still declaring for 'pussy power', and saying that that "the

position of women in the revolution is prone".

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**A**nother contradiction of the 60's was the lack of a philosophy comprehensive and detailed enough to offer guidance to inexperienced activists. Feminism had not yet begun to address issues besides sexism, and the advanced anarchism represented by Murray Bookchin and others was too marginalized to make much of an impact. Once people had arrived at the conclusion that nothing short of a complete overhaul of the system could remedy the structural racism of the ghetto and the imperialism of the Vietnam War, then "all political therapies short of socialist revolution [became] senseless", "the necessity of a revolutionary strategy was, in effect ... the necessity of Marxism-Leninism. There was — and is — no other coherent, integrative, and explicit philosophy of revolution"<sup>6</sup>. Even to

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One of the things which is on the agenda for the latter half of the 80's is developing a theory and practice which combines the material and cultural into a single edifice so that white activists are no longer in the position of ignoring the material oppression faced by workers and oppressed nationalities, and people in the latter communities are no longer in the position of having to use guilt to compel the attention of those of us with access to greater resources. Becoming socially responsible and 'privately' integrated will perhaps no longer be a contradiction in terms. □

# quotes from the 60's

## On Students

...students take it. They haven't gone through twelve years of public school for nothing. They've learned one thing and perhaps only one thing during those twelve years. They've forgotten their algebra. They're hopelessly vague about chemistry and physics. They've grown to fear and resent literature. They write like they've been lobotomized. But, can they follow orders! Freshmen come up to me with an essay and ask if I want it folded and whether their name should be in the upper right corner. And I want to cry and kiss them and caress their poor tortured heads.

— Jerry Farber  
**(The Underground Reader,**  
 pp. 10-11)

## Native Issues

We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars (24) in glass beads and

red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that \$24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of \$1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity — for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings of all white men.

— Indians of All Tribes,  
**(The Underground Reader,**  
 pp. 124-125)

## chronology

(The following is a brief chronology of the 60's; events mentioned are grouped by years, but may occasionally be out of order.)

1960 — four Black students sit down in segregated Woolworth's in Greensboro, N.C. and demand to be served — this sparks white solidarity action in the North; students protest the execution of influential prisoner

search and action Project (ERAP) to organize poor whites and ghetto Blacks.

1964 — Civil Rights Act passed in the U.S.; the Beatles make it big; George Jackson begins writing the letters later made famous in *Soledad Brother*; Malcolm X breaks with Elijah Mohammed; phoney "Gulf of Tonkin Incident" leads to increased U.S. military involvement in Vietnam; "Mississippi Freedom Summer" voter registration drive organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) results in the radicalization of Black and white participants ex-

## The Counter-Culture

Rock & roll music is about rebellion. Years ago it was listening to Elvis Presley when we were supposed to be listening to Pat Boone! Why drink alcohol & not smoke dope? Because alcohol makes you go along with all that low-energy bullshit for the straight life-style & job structure. Young people who work in the factory are doing that because essentially they don't see anything else to do. And along with working in the factory goes all the rest of the stuff: bowling, hunting, buying furniture, getting married, a new car, sharp clothes, beauty parlours. Or else you go into the army for 3 years & then into a factory. Or some other job. When I was coming up that was all there was. Ten years ago. You just accepted that shit. The more high-energy our music got, the more the establishment tried to kill it. They sent out Frankie Avalon & Fabian, exemplars of honky culture, to kill it off....

The conflict is between low-energy life & high-energy life. Low-energy culture prepares people to fit into the consumer [passive] system. And it has to do with death: consume — kill & shit out; consumption — the poets' disease. A high-energy culture prepares people for revolution!....

You listen to high-energy music, & then when people come to you with low-energy forms, you just can't stand it.<sup>8</sup> That's why

*Notes*, organ of the SDS National Office, develops a circulation of 120,000; the Progressive Labour Party (PL), a dogmatic Maoist group, begins its bid to wrest control of SDS; Liberation News Service (LNS) founded; hippie "Summer of Love" occurs in San Francisco; student strike against Dow Chemical recruiters at the University of Wisconsin met by tear gas and clubs; one cop killed and Huey Newton injured in a BPP shoot-out with police; tens of thousands "exorcise" the Pentagon.

1968 — building occupations and riots erupt at Columbia University over university expropriation of ghetto lands; three

kids hate school so much: school is the ultimate low-energy trip. Total separation: you separate the kids into rooms & the knowledge into subjects. It's done to change & shape you, so you'll be ready to work on the assembly line or in the office. School doesn't start at 8:30 & end at 3:30 by accident. It's done to start you on a work-shift. The straight life-style & the straight culture is all about separation. That has to do with industrialization. None of it happens by accident. People have their own homes, houses, instead of living in tribal or clan groups. Isolated into families. And television ... you don't take part in it ... you don't have to do anything except just sit there in your chair — which is right where they want you.

Now, say, that because of economic conditions you're stuck in a factory: you have to stay in a low-energy frame of mind to stand it. That's why barbiturates & heroin are so big among black workers & kids in school. If you were righteously stoned on weed or hash you couldn't stand that life.<sup>9</sup>

The whole push of the industrial world is to enslave people. The corporations are just modern versions of the old feudal system. A very few people control all the rest of the people. Everyone works for the handful that owns it all. But when you become inundated with high-energy culture, you simply become *incapable* of operating in a low-energy context. You just won't accept it. So our plan has always been to push high-energy music, high-energy life-style, bright clothes & communal living, which is, because of its volatility, a high-energy thing. Get people into these forms & they relate to them. Because that's what people are supposed to be — free! The way you start breaking this slave-system down is to start building people who won't & can't relate to that. You get enough such people & it can't go on. And when people get to the point that they can't relate to the Death Culture, then they try to create a new Life Culture.

— John Sinclair

**(The Underground Reader,**  
 pp. 155-157)

## Native Issues

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1961 — Patrice Lumumba, radical African leader in the Congo, is murdered with the connivance of the CIA; Black and white Freedom Riders from the North go down South and demand an end to segregation; Robert Williams, advocate of Black armed self-defense, flees to Cuba; erection of the Berlin Wall; SDS grows to twenty chapters with 575 members; growth in the influence of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims); publication of *Growing Up Absurd* by influential anarchist, Paul Goodman.

1962 — Cuban Missile Crisis occurs; drafting of the famous SDS "Port Huron Statement" by Tom Hayden and others,

search and action Project (ERAP) to organize poor whites and ghetto Blacks.

1964 — Civil Rights Act passed in the U.S.; the Beatles make it big; George Jackson begins writing the letters later made famous in *Soledad Brother*; Malcolm X breaks with Elijah Mohammed; phoney "Gulf of Tonkin Incident" leads to increased U.S. military involvement in Vietnam; "Mississippi Freedom Summer" voter registration drive organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) results in the radicalization of Black and white participants exposed to racist violence; beginning of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California (Berkeley) over the right of students to participate in off-campus politics.

1965 — the teach-in movement on Vietnam launched at the University of Michigan; SDS becomes more radical, organizing a march of 25,000 people to protest the war in Vietnam; Malcolm X assassinated in New York City; Medicare and other similar legislation passed by Congress; anti-war movement picks up steam, U.S. troops invade the Dominican Republic; Barry McGuire releases "The Eve of Destruction"; Watts, the Black ghetto in Los Angeles, explodes; Martha and Vandellas sing "Dancing in the Streets" (mistaken by some as an ode to rioting).

1966 — James Meredith, civil rights leader, is shot in Mississippi while on his "March against Fear"; Stokely Carmichael popularizes the concept of "Black Power"; Buffalo Springfield releases "For What It's Worth"; the National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded; the Chinese Cultural Revolution begins; SDS's Radical Education Project (publisher of thousands of leaflets) cuts off the

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1968 — building occupations and riots erupt at Columbia University over university expropriation of ghetto lands; three Black students murdered by state police at South Carolina State College; Martin Luther King assassinated, sparking nationwide riots; presidential candidate, Bobby Kennedy, killed by Sirhan Sirhan; Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) buildings torched on several campuses; SDS succumbs to dogma; rock musical "Hair" makes its appearance; the Beatles release the "White album", containing the topical song "Revolution" ("and if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao, you ain't gonna make it with anyone anyhow"); Russian invasion crushes "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia; Eldridge Cleaver wounded and L'il Bobby Hutton murdered in a BPP shoot-out with the police; the NLF launches the costly (to both sides) TET offensive, considered by some to be the turning point in the war; May '68 in France nearly topples the DeGaulle regime as ten million workers go on strike (with a strong contingent of anarchist- and Situationist-inspired students); formation of radical feminist organizations, WITCH and Redstockings; police riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago results in scores injured and the arrest and trial of the Chicago 8.

## On Sexism

So *Rat* has been liberated, for this week, at least. Next week? If the men return to reinstate the porny photos, the sexist comic strips, the "nude-chickie" covers (along with their patronizing rhetoric about being in favour of Women's Liberation) — if this happens, our alternatives are clear. *Rat* must be destroyed.

What *Rat*? Why not *EVO* or even the obvious new pornzines (Mafia-distributed alongside the human pornography of prostitution)? First, they'll get theirs — but it won't be a takeover, which is reserved for something at least *worth* taking over. Nor should they be censored. They should just be helped not to exist — by any means necessary. But *Rat*, which has always tried to be a really radical *cum* life-style paper — that's another matter. It's the liberal co-optative mask on the face of sexist hate and fear, worn by real nice guys we all know and like, right? We have met the enemy and he's our friend. And dangerous. "What the hell, let the chicks do an issue; maybe it'll satisfy 'em for a while, it's a good controversy, and it'll maybe sell papers" — runs an unheard conversation that I'm sure took place at

Caryl Chessman; fifty-six non-violent demonstrators slaughtered at Sharpeville in South Africa; House Un-American Committee (HUAC) hearings disrupted in San Francisco; Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) founded; the National Liberation front (NLF) in South Vietnam begins operations; C. Wright Mills (author of *The Power Elite* and *White Collar*) publishes "Letter to the New Left", arguing a radical role for the young intelligentsia; Sino-Soviet dispute comes out into the open.

1961 — Patrice Lumumba, radical African leader in the Congo, is murdered with the connivance of the CIA; Black and white Freedom Riders from the North go down South and demand an end to segregation; Robert Williams, advocate of Black armed self-defense, flees to Cuba; erection of the Berlin Wall; SDS grows to twenty chapters with 575 members; growth in the influence of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims); publication of *Growing Up Absurd* by influential anarchist, Paul Goodman.

1962 — Cuban Missile Crisis occurs; drafting of the famous SDS "Port Huron Statement" by Tom Hayden and others, charting a philosophy of libertarian humanism for the organization; publication of *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson; Huey Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, gets involved in politics; differences begin to develop between Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Nation of Islam, and Malcolm X.

1963 — Michael Harrington's famous book on poverty, *The Other America*, is published; Martin Luther King leads the "We Shall Overcome" march on the Capitol in Washington, D.C.; six Black children murdered by racists in Birmingham, Alabama; Bob Dylan releases "Blowing in the Wind" and "Masters of War"; Mao Tse-tung issues statement in support of Black liberation in the U.S.; Betty Freidan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*; President Kennedy assassinated in Dallas; SDS launches the Economic Re-

posed to racist violence; beginning of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California (Berkeley) over the right of students to participate in off-campus politics.

1965 — the teach-in movement on Vietnam launched at the University of Michigan; SDS becomes more radical, organizing a march of 25,000 people to protest the war in Vietnam; Malcolm X assassinated in New York City; Medicare and other similar legislation passed by Congress; anti-war movement picks up steam; U.S. troops invade the Dominican Republic; Barry McGuire releases "The Eve of Destruction"; Watts, the Black ghetto in Los Angeles, explodes; Martha and Vandellas sing "Dancing in the Streets" (mistaken by some as an ode to rioting).

1966 — James Meredith, civil rights leader, is shot in Mississippi while on his "March against Fear"; Stokely Carmichael popularizes the concept of "Black Power"; Buffalo Springfield releases "For What It's Worth"; the National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded; the Chinese Cultural Revolution begins; SDS's Radical Education Project (publisher of thousands of low cost 60's pamphlets) gets off the ground; student leaders start experimenting with "new working class" theories imported from Europe; the Black Power movement declares its independence of white liberals; SDS grows to 268 chapters with 30,000 members; Black Panther Party (BPP), formed in Oakland, California begins its patrols of police activity in the ghetto; an armed Huey Newton faces down members of the Oakland Police Department.

1967 — an armed contingent of Black Panthers "invades" the California state legislature to protest gun control legislation (body guards spirit governor Ronald Reagan "out of harm's way"); The Doors and the Jefferson Airplane popularize the California sound; Detroit riots erupt — dozens of Blacks are killed by police and thousands are arrested; Arab-Israeli war breaks out; mass draft card burning begins; *New Left*

Black students murdered by state police at South Carolina State College; Martin Luther King assassinated, sparking nationwide riots; presidential candidate, Bobby Kennedy, killed by Sirhan Sirhan; Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) buildings torched on several campuses; SDS succumbs to dogma; rock musical "Hair" makes its appearance; the Beatles release the "White album", containing the topical song "Revolution" ("and if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao, you ain't gonna make it with anyone anyhow"); Russian invasion crushes "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia; Eldridge Cleaver wounded and L'il Bobby Hutton murdered in a BPP shoot-out with the police; the NLF launches the costly (to both sides) TET offensive, considered by some to be the turning point in the war; May '68 in France nearly topples the DeGaulle regime as ten million workers go on strike (with a strong contingent of anarchist- and Situationist-inspired students); formation of radical feminist organizations, WITCH and Redstockings; police riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago results in scores injured and the arrest and trial of the Chicago 8.

1969 — U.S. forces in Vietnam at peak strength: 543,400; Stonewall riot in New York marks beginning of Gay Liberation movement; several hundred people arrested at San Francisco State over struggle involving Third World student demands; Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, is bound and gagged in the Chicago 8 trial by Judge Julius Hoffman ("You're a disgrace to Jewish people", yells Abbie, one of the defendants); young man killed by police in the battle over "People's Park" on the West Coast; Native Americans take over the island of Alcatraz and publish a manifesto addressed satirically to the "Great White Father"; SDS splits into three (count 'em — 3!) different Marxist-Leninist factions; the Weathermen launch their "Days of Rage", described as "Custerist" by Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton (who is murdered in his bed by Chicago police). □

## On Sexism

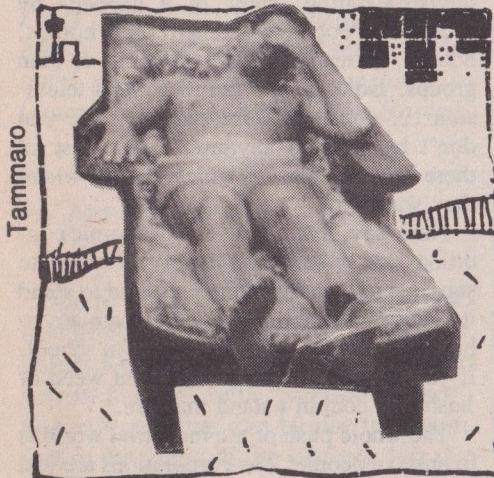
So *Rat* has been liberated, for this week, at least. Next week? If the men return to reinstate the porny photos, the sexist comic strips, the "nude-chickie" covers (along with their patronizing rhetoric about being in favour of Women's Liberation) — if this happens, our alternatives are clear. *Rat* must be destroyed.

What *Rat*? Why not *EVO* or even the obvious new pornzines (Mafia-distributed alongside the human pornography of prostitution)? First, they'll get theirs — but it won't be a takeover, which is reserved for something at least *worth* taking over. Nor should they be censored. They should just be helped not to exist — by any means necessary. But *Rat*, which has always tried to be a really radical *cum* life-style paper — that's another matter. It's the liberal/co-optative mask on the face of sexist hate and fear, worn by real nice guys we all know and like, right? We have met the enemy and he's our friend. And dangerous. "What the hell, let the chicks do an issue; maybe it'll satisfy 'em for a while, it's a good controversy, and it'll maybe sell papers" — runs an unheard conversation that I'm sure took place at some point last week.

And that's what I wanted to write about — the friends, brothers, lovers in the counterfeit male-dominated Left. The good guys who think they know what "Women's Lib," as they so chummily call it, is all about — and who then proceed to degrade and destroy women by almost everything they say and do: The cover on the last issue of *Rat* (front and back). The token "pussy power" or "clit militancy" articles. The snide descriptions of women staffers on the masthead. The little jokes, the personal ads, the smile, the snarl. No more, brothers. No more well-meaning ignorance, no more co-optation, no more assuming that this thing we're all fighting for is the same: one revolution under *man*, with liberty and justice for all. No more....

continued on page 20

# Urban



Tammaro

# Male

by Ron Hayley (with thanks to Taylor for help and suggestions).

## Introduction

*'Patriarchal attitudes make it almost impossible for us to love or be emotional; turns us into success objects (as opposed to sex objects — though we can be that, too); keep us out of touch with our bodies; teaches us to see women as inferior and to hate women; and keep us*

### 'Art' vs. 'Religion'

From the day they're born, men are groomed to be functionaries in the existing hierarchy. This training has an impoverishing effect on the quality of their emotional and sensual lives. In fact, it makes it very difficult for them to maintain an active spirituality. For me, spirituality is being in touch with my own body and emotions, being in touch with nature and other human beings, being centred and integrated — a whole person experiencing joy, ecstasy and serenity.

And yet that is not the way I live. Like many men, I am very goal-oriented, instead of process-oriented. Here I'm going to engage in a bit of word-play and use the word 'religion', which has traditionally been associated with spirituality, to denote an obsession with goals — monetary, 'religious' or political. Ironically, 'religion' made its appearance around the same time as patriarchy. When you deny your own body and cut yourself off from nature and people, then you're forced to worship (in perverted form) the very things you suppress. Spirit had to be removed from nature so man could exploit it. The soul had to be made more important than the body so that the body could be pressed into slavery and put to death. Money, god, power and bloodshed seem to go hand in hand because all involve the

*'Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that an object is only ours when we have it — when it exists for us as capital, or when it is directly possessed, eaten, drunk, worn, inhabited, etc. — in short, when it is used by us.'*

In other words, our society, particularly as it manifests itself in urban culture, promotes a mode of being which is synonymous with having. Experiencing communion with the world occurs through possession/consumption. As one becomes dependent on outside stimulants, satisfaction is not a state of inner peace, but a 'fix' to be grabbed hold of.

Of course, the need to consume grows in direct proportion to alienated labour, and the more we consume, the more we're chained to our jobs to maintain our habit. Consumption is really compensation for our spiritual needs going unmet because of the time monopolized by work. Our work lacks meaning, so we seek that meaning in consumption.

If self-directed activity (denied to us by work) is the source of meaning, then community is the source of our identity. Urbanization has tended to undermine community. In the absence of it, we identify with 'celebrities'. We are taught that happiness lies not in realizing our own individuality, but in becoming 'stars'. The way to become a star is to adopt the lifestyle of the rich and famous. Commodity fetishism and celebrity fetishism.

### Fear and Self-Loathing

Another driving force for men is the need to feed insecure egos. We suffer from a feeling of inferiority, a fear of not

In order to carry on when we're afraid, we repress our anxieties, creating a split between our conscious minds and our unconscious emotions and physical sensations. By working out of tandem with our environment, we create stress and become doubly edgy.

### Two Modes of Being

This split between being and doing tends to reflect itself in two modes of behaviour: the assertive and the receptive. In assertive behaviour, we act as subjects, reducing things in our environment to the status of objects. Receptive (which is not the same thing as passive) behaviour involves responding to the subjectivity of things outside ourselves — people, nature, or an artistic medium. Sex, in particular, requires learning how to be receptive, and hence defies the way most men have been taught to relate to the world. Many men relate to sex as an act of assertiveness, as a performance. Many men don't even take real (soul, as well as body) pleasure in it. Their first question is: "Was it good?", Did I measure up?"

Men are used to getting their way by means of force. Ramming through a corporate merger, out-heckling their opponents in the House of Commons, exerting themselves at work, whipping their bodies into shape. Men rarely commune with anything because to commune is to admit that there are limitations to their own existence. Men are used to demanding things of their environment, but often don't like it when the scenario gets reversed: "You're demanding too much", "You want too much commitment".

Men are terrified of responsibility, especially in the area of emotions. This

# Male

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## Introduction

*"Patriarchal attitudes make it almost impossible for us to love or be emotional; turns us into success objects (as opposed to sex objects — though we can be that, too); keep us out of touch with our bodies; teaches us to see women as inferior and to hate women; and keep us from getting to know our children. The male machine is a special kind of being, different from women, children and men who don't measure up. He is functional, designed mainly for work. He is programmed to tackle jobs, override obstacles, attack problems, overcome difficulties, and always seize the offensive ... His circuits are never scrambled or overrun by irrelevant personal symbols. His relationship with other male machines is one of respect but not intimacy; it is difficult for him to connect his personal circuits to those of others. In fact, his internal circuitry is something of a mystery to him, and is maintained primarily by humans of the opposite sex (Marc Feigen Fasteau)." — New Age Politics by Mark Satin, Whitecap Books, Vancouver, 1978.*

The city is a very male institution, and is characterized by the following traits: acquisitiveness, domination of nature and other human beings, a split between the subject (individual) and

own body and emotions, being in touch with nature and other human beings, being centred and integrated — a whole person experiencing joy, ecstasy and serenity.

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At the opposite pole is 'art'. Art is when you do something for its own sake. In art, the process counts as much as the goal. You can't have a sloppy process with the end product being good. To produce good art or to engage in 'artful' activity (be it play, socializing or relaxing), you have to 'lose' yourself in what you're doing. You become one with your activity. In art, subject merges into object; the self communes with the *other* instead of trying to dominate it. In this respect, art resembles the spirituality attained by pre-religious and pre-civilized peoples.

## Work and 'Leisure'

This is a state I find hard to achieve. First of all, living in an urban area, I find myself needing to consume a lot of stimulants. I tend to coast from one caffeine high to the next, with some

labour, and the more we consume, the more we're chained to our jobs to maintain our habit. Consumption is really compensation for our spiritual needs going unmet because of the time monopolized by work. Our work lacks meaning, so we seek that meaning in consumption.

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Another driving force for men is the need to feed insecure egos. We suffer from a feeling of inferiority, a fear of not being good enough. When we were children, we were taught that the essence of maleness is to achieve. Our feelings were allowed to atrophy as we learned how to become male machines.

I saw a movie recently called "A Question of Silence", made by a Dutch feminist. The plot revolves around the interrogation and trial of three "ordinary" women who gang up on a boutique owner and beat him to death. This is an act of symbolic revenge against the patriarchy, against the wrongs these women have suffered at the hands of men.

The men in the film are not a pretty bunch. They talk their abstract, alienated discourse (middle class men) or make jokes at women's expense (working class men). They demand that their needs be met while giving no consideration to their partners' needs. They're always too busy to nurture anyone, let alone let their hair down and be intimate with one another.

I think the reason that many men are

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Men are terrified of responsibility, especially in the area of emotions. This is one area where they can't 'perform'. Emotions can't be coerced. Some feminists have argued that the reason pornography appeals to many heterosexual men is because it's a way of symbolically subduing what women and nakedness represent — namely, emotions and vulnerability, needs that can't be 'turned off' or controlled, reminding man that he is flesh, and not merely spirit.

Urban life tends to reinforce the 'assertive' mode, if only because the majority of our waking hours are spent pushing ourselves, seeking to survive in a 'rat race' (actually rats don't race, only humans do). Men get so locked into the assertive mode that they can't 'switch gears'.

How can we get out of this prison of maleness? By cultivating activities which draw on our need and ability to be receptive: taking care of children, making love, planting a garden, or subordinating ourselves to the discipline of an artistic medium which demands sensitivity and imagination. A medium which

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The city is a very male institution, and is characterized by the following traits: acquisitiveness, domination of nature and other human beings, a split between the subject (individual) and object (environment), a split between the mind and the body, and a denial of the sensual and emotional parts of human beings. And the city, in turn, reinforces these characteristics in men.

Seven thousand years ago, human beings lived in relative harmony with their environment. Hunting and gathering and agriculture were the predominant lifestyles for most people, and women played a prominent role in their communities, which were relatively peaceful. However, as men came to occupy the dominant position in society, there arose a number of interconnected phenomena. War became more prevalent. Cities emerged with tribal rulers and priests and military chiefs. great disparities of wealth and power became the norm, and urban areas began to parasitize off rural areas.

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This is a state I find hard to achieve. First of all, living in an urban area, I find myself needing to consume a lot of stimulants. I tend to coast from one caffeine high to the next, with some alcohol, marijuana, and sugar thrown in. I don't like these addictions, but I can't function without them. They're a way of getting more energy out of my body than my body is prepared to give, whereas in the country I'm not so overactive. My body slows down, resonates with nature, is more responsive to cycles than to a constant blitz.

I feel my consumption of stimulants is dulling my senses and making it hard for me to be centred and calm, but I need to push myself to hold down a job and make time for other things. Having ready access to stimulants and instant entertainment, especially when one doesn't have time to 'unwind', leads to the feeling that feeling good is not something to be cultivated, but to be consumed — not a state of being, but a state of having. In the words of the early Marx,

being good enough. When we were children, we were taught that the essence of maleness is to achieve. Our feelings were allowed to atrophy as we learned how to become male machines.

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I think the reason that many men are driven to 'perform', and exhibit some of these other characteristics is, deep down, they haven't learned to like themselves, and are not comfortable with their feelings. You can't like yourself if one part of you is cut off and frozen. Men are afraid of stopping the ceaseless flow of activity, and just once checking out what's going on underneath.

The way men are brought up has a lot to do with that. Repressive conditioning breeds a character structure based on fear — fear of punishment, fear of not receiving love and approval. This fear breeds a split between the 'being' self and the 'doing' self — leading to mindless activity, where one is afraid to relax, or to an inability to put one's heart and soul into anything — to constantly hold back.

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How can we get out of this prison of maleness? By cultivating activities which draw on our need and ability to be receptive: taking care of children, making love, planting a garden, or subordinating ourselves to the discipline of an artistic medium which demands sensitivity to the object. Any activity which involves paying homage to something outside the 'I' helps restore the balance between the two modes, between 'yin' and 'yang', so that a person is no longer split into a 'being' person and a 'doing' person.

The problem is how to find this in an environment which undermines it. My long-term dream is to escape it — the world of full-time work and its attendant pressures (and the chemical coercives which help keep us in the running) — to get my expenses down to a level where work is enjoyable and not something all-encompassing, and I can spend time cultivating a centredness and receptivity to my environment, a communion with the **now**, instead of always chasing a goal. I would like to hear from other men on this subject. □

# MASS MURDERERS

IN WHITE COATS.

Activist and author Lenny Lapon has been fasting since December 13 to draw attention to psychiatric crimes against humanity. Lapon, who teaches math at a college in Springfield, Mass., has been taking only water and 4 oz. of juice a day for the past 8 weeks (at the time of writing this article). I recently received a copy of his newly-published book, **Mass Murderers in White Coats: Psychiatric Genocide in Nazi Germany and the U.S.**, which makes fully comprehensible the outrage which prompted him to undertake the fast.

The book is clearly written and awesomely well researched. He fully documents the Nazi program of "euthanasia" which exterminated an estimated 300,000 inmates of psychiatric institutions, and shows how this program was carried out under the initiative and sponsorship of leading German psychiatrists. Even more chilling is the description of the careers of some of these experts in genocide, who continued to be honored in their profession after the war. For example, Werner Villinger, a professor specializing in child psychiatry was "one of the most distin-

operation of the program to eliminate psychiatric inmates. The connections between the oppression of people based on supposed racial inferiority and oppression based on supposed mental illness are made throughout the book, as in the discussion of the theories of three Harvard psychosurgeons, Mark, Ervin, and Sweet, who attributed rioting in the black ghettos in the 60's to a form of mental illness, that could be remedied by brain surgery.

manent brain damage caused by current psychiatric practices in the U.S., such as the use of phenothiazine drugs (e.g., Thorazine, Prolixin, Mellaril), and electroshock. One of the more horrible effects of phenothiazines is a form of permanent brain damage called tardive dyskinesia. The symptoms include "slow, rhythmic and involuntary movements of the face and limbs; cheek-puffing; lipsmacking; chomping or chewing of the jaws; undulation of

courts). Ted remembers his childhood this way:

*Psychiatrists and social workers had already decided before I was born that I was going to be a mental patient . . . The social worker told my foster parents that my mother was, as they put it, "peculiar," and Miss Callaghan soon had them looking for symptoms in me too . . . When Miss Callaghan had discovered enough symptoms, I was sent to the Bellevue children's psychiatric ward, to be officially diagnosed and to be made an experimental animal for Dr. Bender. I was six years old . . . It took three attendants to hold me. At first Dr. Bender herself threw the switch, but later when I was no longer an interesting case, my tormentor was different each time . . . The world was spinning around and coming back to it hurt too much. I want to go down, I want to go where the shock treatment is sending me, I want to stop fighting and die . . . and something made me live, and to go on living.*

*I spent my seventh birthday this way, and my eighth and ninth birthdays*



Tammaro

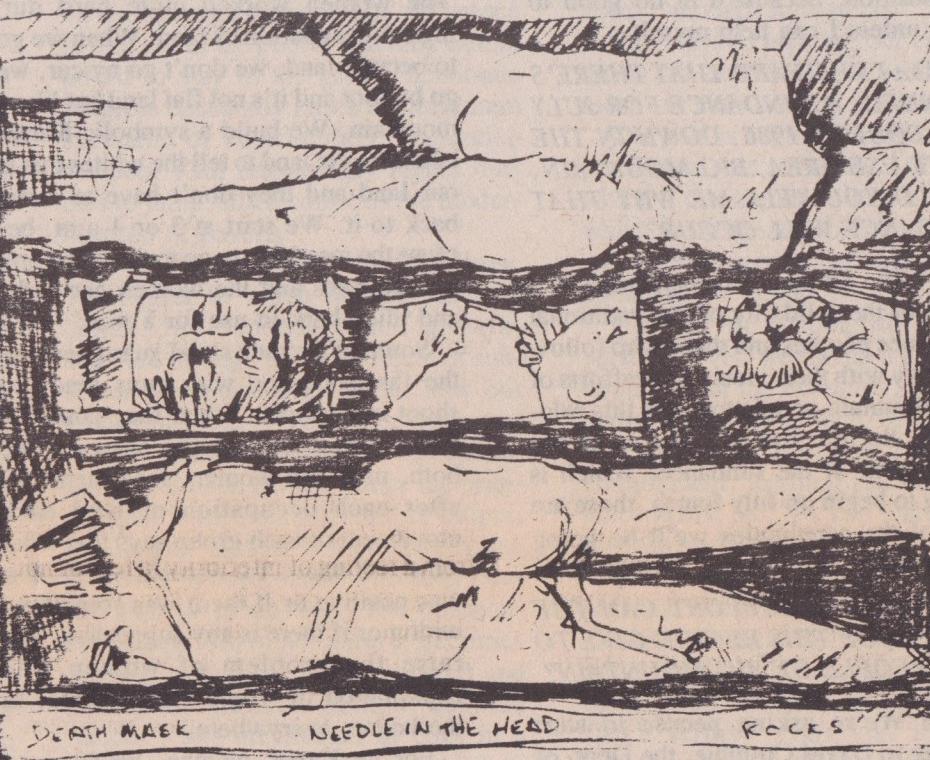
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Lapon convincingly demonstrates that the philosophy of killing and sterilization of people labelled mentally ill was not a phenomenon limited to Nazi Germany, but was the outgrowth of the international eugenics movement, for which much of the funding and ideology came from the U.S. and England. The world's first compulsory sterilization law for so-called imbeciles was passed in Indiana in 1907, long before the Nazi rise to power. The book traces the origins of the movement for racial "purification" and sterilization of those considered unfit to the writings of English psychologist Francis Galton in 1869. Interestingly, Galton was the cousin of Charles Darwin, and Darwin's son, Major Leonard Darwin, was the President of the First International Congress of Eugenics held in 1912 in Lon-

don and Sweet, who attributed rioting in the black ghettos in the 60's to a form of mental illness, that could be remedied by brain surgery.

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In another section of the book, Lapon follows the careers of former Nazis in the U.S., and quotes from interviews that he conducted with a number of American psychiatrists who had practiced or studied in Nazi Germany. Most of them, of course, denied knowledge of the euthanasia program that wiped out the vast majority of psychiatric inmates during that period. One interview that I found particularly fascinating was with Werner Kohlmeyer, who after emigrating from Germany worked as an associate director at Patuxent Institute in Maryland, and later with Ewen Cameron at McGill University in Montreal. Patuxent is a "very restrictive psychiatric prison that uses high-powered behavior modification techniques" and indeterminate sentencing to break the spirits of rebellious prisoners. Even Cameron has been much in the news lately because of the

the tongue or repeated tongue thrusts; difficulty in swallowing or speaking..." The list of other devastating effects of these drugs (including 'unexplained death') is much too long to include here.

Lapon quotes Peter Breggin, a psychiatrist and author of a book on electroshock, describing some of the effects of that "treatment": "death, amnesia and other kinds of memory loss, brain hemorrhages, cell death, brain death, bleeding, brain-tissue destruction, damage to the central nervous system, coma, permanent mental dysfunction, difficulties in concentration, confusion and incontinence, impairment of learning, and of course, fear."

The last section of the book is a history of the psychiatric inmates ("mental patients") liberation movement in the U.S., from its beginning in 1970 to the present. Lapon describes the annual

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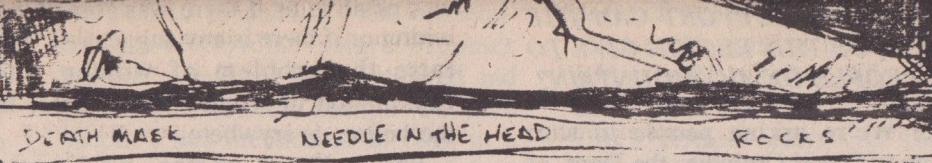
I spent my seventh birthday this way, and my eighth and ninth birthdays locked in a seclusion room at Rockland State Hospital. I would curl in a ball and rock back and forth on the mattress, trying to comfort myself. And I cried and cried, hoping someone would come. I'll be good, I said. And the attendant would stare at me through the little window with wires in it so I couldn't break the glass and kill myself.... And so I spent my childhood waking from nightmare to nightmare in locked rooms with scraps of torn comic books and crusts of bread and my friends the mice, with no one to tell me who I was. And when I was seventeen and the shrinks thought they had destroyed me, they set me free.

To order a copy of **Mass Murderers in White Coats**, send \$10 (includes postage) to Lenny Lapon, Psychiatric Genocide Research Institute, P.O. Box 80071, Springfield, MA 01138. While I wholly understand and support Lapon's reason for fasting, I hope he ends the fast before his health is seriously damaged. While the knowledge of society's indifference to psychiatric atrocities can at times seem unendurable, only by honoring the life principle in all of us that these atrocities can be brought to an end. □

operation.... In 1950 he was invited to participate in the White House Conference on Children and Youth and did so." Another doctor, Werner Catel, was an expert "for the special agency of child 'euthanasia' and... was professor of pediatrics and head of the pediatric clinic at Kiel until the 1960's."

Lapon convincingly demonstrates that the philosophy of killing and sterilization of people labelled mentally ill was not a phenomenon limited to Nazi Germany, but was the outgrowth of the international eugenics movement, for which much of the funding and ideology came from the U.S. and England. The world's first compulsory sterilization law for so-called imbeciles was passed in Indiana in 1907, long before the Nazi rise to power. The book traces the origins of the movement for racial "purification" and sterilization of those considered unfit to the writings of English psychologist Francis Galton in 1869. Interestingly, Galton was the cousin of Charles Darwin, and Darwin's son, Major Leonard Darwin, was the President of the First International Congress of Eugenics held in 1912 in London. Another important proponent of the destruction of "inferior" humans was the American Nobel Prize winner Alexis Carrell, who, in his book **Man, the Unknown** (1935) recommended that criminals who had murdered, robbed, or "misled the public in important matters," as well as people labelled insane, should be "economically disposed of in small euthanasia institutions supplied with proper gases."

The book shows the role of psychiatrists in supervising the extermination of Jews, gay people, political dissidents, and others in the concentration camps that were set up following the successful



In another section of the book, Lapon follows the careers of former Nazis in the U.S., and quotes from interviews that he conducted with a number of American psychiatrists who had practiced or studied in Nazi Germany. Most of them, of course, denied knowledge of the euthanasia program that wiped out the vast majority of psychiatric inmates during that period. One interview that I found particularly fascinating was with Werner Kohlmeyer, who after emigrating from Germany worked as an associate director at Patuxent Institute in Maryland, and later with Ewen Cameron at McGill University in Montreal. Patuxent is a "very restrictive psychiatric prison that uses high-powered behavior modification techniques" and indeterminate sentencing to break the spirits of rebellious prisoners. Even Cameron has been much in the news lately because of the CIA-funded mind-control experiments he did with massive doses of electroshock on patients at McGill in the late 50's (part of the MK-ULTRA project). Cameron was president of the American Psychiatric Association in 1953 and the first president of the World Psychiatric Association. In the interview with Lapon, Kohlmeyer speaks admiringly of Patuxent's policies, and when asked what he thought of Cameron, responds, "He was a very interesting person, very interesting teacher, very imaginative."

The book brings the history of psychiatric crimes up to date with a thorough discussion of deaths and per-

the tongue or repeated tongue thrusts; difficulty in swallowing or speaking..." The list of other devastating effects of these drugs (including 'unexplained death') is much too long to include here.

Lapon quotes Peter Breggin, a psychiatrist and author of a book on electroshock, describing some of the effects of that "treatment": "death, amnesia and other kinds of memory loss, brain hemorrhages, cell death, brain death, bleeding, brain-tissue destruction, damage to the central nervous system, coma, permanent mental dysfunction, difficulties in concentration, confusion and incontinence, impairment of learning, and of course, fear."

The last section of the book is a history of the psychiatric inmates ("mental patients") liberation movement in the U.S., from its beginning in 1970 to the present. Lapon describes the annual ex-inmate conferences, the sit-ins and demonstrations protesting forced psychiatric treatment, the patient-run refuges and drop-in centers, the court battles, consciousness-raising groups, books, films, and newspapers that the movement has created.

Much of this section consists of documents from the movement, as well as first-person accounts, poetry, and songs. One of the most moving accounts is by Ted Chabasinski, who was the main organizer of the successful 1982 ballot campaign to ban electroshock in the city of Berkeley (the initiative was later overturned by the

rock back and forth on the mattress, trying to comfort myself. And I cried and cried, hoping someone would come. I'll be good, I said. And the attendant would stare at me through the little window with wires in it so I couldn't break the glass and kill myself.... And so I spent my childhood waking from nightmare to nightmare in locked rooms with scraps of torn comic books and crusts of bread and my friends the mice, with no one to tell me who I was. And when I was seventeen and the shrinks thought they had destroyed me, they set me free.

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Jenny Miller is the co-ordinator of the Coalition to Stop Electroshock Legal Defense in Berkeley, Calif., and a board member of the National Association for Rights Protection and Advocacy. Her articles have appeared in *Science for the People*, *New Women's Times*, *Madness Network News*, the *Utne Reader*, *Northwest Passage*, *Strike!*, *Big Mama Rag*, etc. (Phone number of Coalition to Stop Electroshock is 415-548-2980 or write P.O. Box 3301, Berkeley, CA 94703.

# apartheid begins at home

JAY MASON ON BIG MOUNTAIN

**Jay Mason:** 10,000 Navajo people are faced with forced relocation by July of 1986. What makes this very serious is that if they're allowed to come in and forcefully remove 10,000 Navajos, if they're allowed to come in and remove any Indians for the purpose of resource development, this has very serious and dangerous implications for Indian peoples all across North America; since we know that two thirds to three quarters of the energy resources in North America lie under Indian land.

**K.I.O.: DO YOU SEE ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ISSUES AT BIG MOUNTAIN AND THE ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

**J.M.:** Oh yeah. There's a lot of correlation. Where did South Africa learn about apartheid in the first place? It wasn't that long ago, in the late 1920's, early 1930's that the South African Government came to Canada to study the Indian act and the reservation system (and they'd done the same thing in the U.S.) and went back and instituted Bantustans and the Dept. of Coloured Peoples Affairs, and numbers for them and all the rest of it.

So the correlation is the same thing, as they've been relocating people in South Africa. I even heard where they were trying to expel certain black people. They were saying that they were illegal. Now, what gives these blue-eyed border lords the right to tell black people that they're illegal aliens?

And this is really important at this

**J.M.:** Oh yeah, I really think that we're winning. The fact that we're here talking about this right now is proof of that. These are things that wouldn't be done just 10 or 15 years ago. So we see that there is a lot more consciousness that is building. A lot of it is as a result of people being concerned about South Africa. But what we have to look at and what we have to understand is that if we're going to beat apartheid in South Africa, then we have to clean up our own backyard, right here. If we're going to stop the encroachments on Guatemala and stop the eradication of Indian peoples down there . . . They're going in and literally killing whole villages of Indian peoples down there . . . If we're going to stop that, we can best do that by starting to insure justice up here. And then we can go and we can help these other peoples. Or at least, that's my position, because I'm no good to them unless I can help myself.

**K.I.O.: I'VE HEARD THAT THERE'S PLANNED, A SUNDANCE FOR JULY THE FOURTH 1986, DOWN IN THE JOINT USE AREA, BIG MOUNTAIN. COULD YOU TELL ME WHY THAT SUNDANCE WILL OCCUR?**

**J.M.:** The Sundance is happening as a result of the solidarity of the traditional Sundance peoples and those who follow that way with them, resistance efforts of Big Mountain people towards this relocation. So this year is going to be the fourth year of the sundance. Which is going to begin on July fourth, those are

# a Kanak woman speaks

*Susanna Ounei is a representative of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) and founder of the Group of Kanak and Exploited Women in Struggle (GRKEL) in New Caledonia in the South Pacific. This is an excerpt of talks she gave in Detroit and Chicago that was printed in News & Letters. The Kanaks are trying to get independence for New Caledonia from France. In December 1984, French President Mitterrand created a provisional government of Kanaky, which is not independent.*

Since the beginning, the women were always the grassroots of the struggle. It was the women who raised the children and hid them while the men went to war against the French. The French understood that, and when they killed they killed not only the men but also the women.

The women worked quite hard during the occupation of land. When we go to occupy land, we don't go by car, we go by foot and it's not flat land but like a mountain. We build a symbolic Kanak house on the land to tell the whites this is our land and they don't have to come back to it. We start at 3 or 4 a.m. because the men have to go to the forest and cut the trees and the women get herbs and thick bark to use for a roof.

Some of the men stand guard because the fascists come with guns ready to shoot our people. When they come — the white settlers or the army — we both, men and women, face them. So after each occupation of land each

traception, so we organize to fight that.

It is very important to be inside the liberation movement and link up our problems politically. My sister and I were the first to talk not only about women, but about independence. And we were with the first to organize a political movement for independence. We worked everywhere. We began by politicizing our leaders and then we talked to the people.

We say we don't want to be like in Algeria and after independence we're left without our customs and not able to do anything. And we say which customs because in our culture now we have customs that exploit the people. But they came to us with colonization and the church. The French did not understand our language or the way we did things. They changed the idea of "chief and his brothers" to "chief and his subjects." Also, we have no word for "bastard." That is a white word. The children stay with the mother and her family and there is no difference.

It is the women who link up the families, the clan. When they marry, they also take their land with them. They come to their husband's family with their Kanak money for the exchange so the man can't say she came with nothing. She comes from her home with her dignity, her land, her Kanak money. That was our custom. Now since colonization and the Bible they say the woman should stay home and be used like a slave.

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And this is really important at this time because we have to understand that people can relate. You know, average white America and average white Canada, they can relate to what's happening to the black people of South Africa, a lot better than to native issues here. There seems to be a whole mental bloc kind of attitude that, well, it can't happen here; this is Canada, this is the land of the free. And they keep forgetting, this is where they [the South African government] learned how to oppress other peoples. It was from the oppression and colonisation of Indian peoples and it's still going on today and you can't just keep saying, well this is all in the past. Not when we're faced with issues like Big Mountain, not when we're faced with what's happening to the Cree peoples up there in the James Bay area with this new Grand Canal Project or the Innu people in Labrador who've got low flying planes testing over their lands and scaring their Caribou and their women and children all the time. Or the Haida peoples who

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**K.I.O.: WHAT SUPPORT CAN THE PEOPLE OF THIS REGION GIVE TO THE PEOPLE OF BIG MOUNTAIN?**

**J.M.:** We're asking people to start writing to David Crombie, the Dept. of Indian Affairs, to start writing to foreign affairs critics and ask them if they're aware of what's happening with the situation with the Big Mountain Navajo and Hopi peoples down there, and ask them to start investigating this. If we can impose sanctions on other countries because of apartheid or whatever measure, we can also do it down there too. This is a very serious thing, 1986, and we're looking at the forced removal of 10,000 Indians? And everybody thought the Indian wars were over! So we're asking people to write those kinds of letters of support. We're also working on, and organizing a caravan to go down there to monitor the situation and attend meetings and ceremonies at the end of June,

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Some of the men stand guard because the fascists come with guns ready to shoot our people. When they come — the white settlers or the army — we both, men and women, face them. So after each occupation of land each movement or each group says that what we think about the occupation — if it was positive or if there was something wrong or if there is any suggestion. We raise the problem of women, the exploitation of women in the tribe, in the house, everywhere.

For us Kanak women, we have to politicize everything to get a just society. Their (Kanak men) attitude to the women is just exactly that of the white settlers, the rich folks, the army. Other political movements created their own women's section to cook for the men when they had general assemblies. We wanted a group to fight against that.

Women wanted to talk about contraception. Before, in our society, we always had contraception. If a woman wanted to have children she could — if not she could go to one of the older women who knew what herbs or leaves she could use. But since the church came, it is a crime to talk about con-

left without our customs and not able to do anything. And we say which customs because in our culture now we have customs that exploit the people. But they came to us with colonization and the church. The French did not understand our language or the way we did things. They changed the idea of "chief and his brothers" to "chief and his subjects." Also, we have no word for "bastard." That is a white word. The children stay with the mother and her family and there is no difference.

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In New Caledonia, we have the mainland and three islands. On the mainland they still keep their customs — not all, but the marriage exchange. But on the islands of Mare and Lifu the marriage custom is corrupted — there is no exchange. The man buys the woman — his family gives her family money. So we protest against that.

They never introduce New Caledonia to the rest of the world as Black people, but as Tahitian. They just hide us. Kanaks make up 43 per cent of the population with the rest made up of whites, Polynesians, Chinese, etc. The French use these people against us. They say Kanaks are too lazy to get a job.

There are some whites who are with us. For us they are welcome. They can stay in our countryside. We know who is our enemy. Those whites who understand our struggle and identify with us, we protect them. □

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**K.I.O.: JAY, I WAS WONDERING IF YOU SAW ANY NEW CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SOCIAL CHANGE MOVEMENT THAT GAVE YOU CAUSE FOR HOPE?**

**K.I.O.: WHAT SUPPORT CAN THE PEOPLE OF THIS REGION GIVE TO THE PEOPLE OF BIG MOUNTAIN?**

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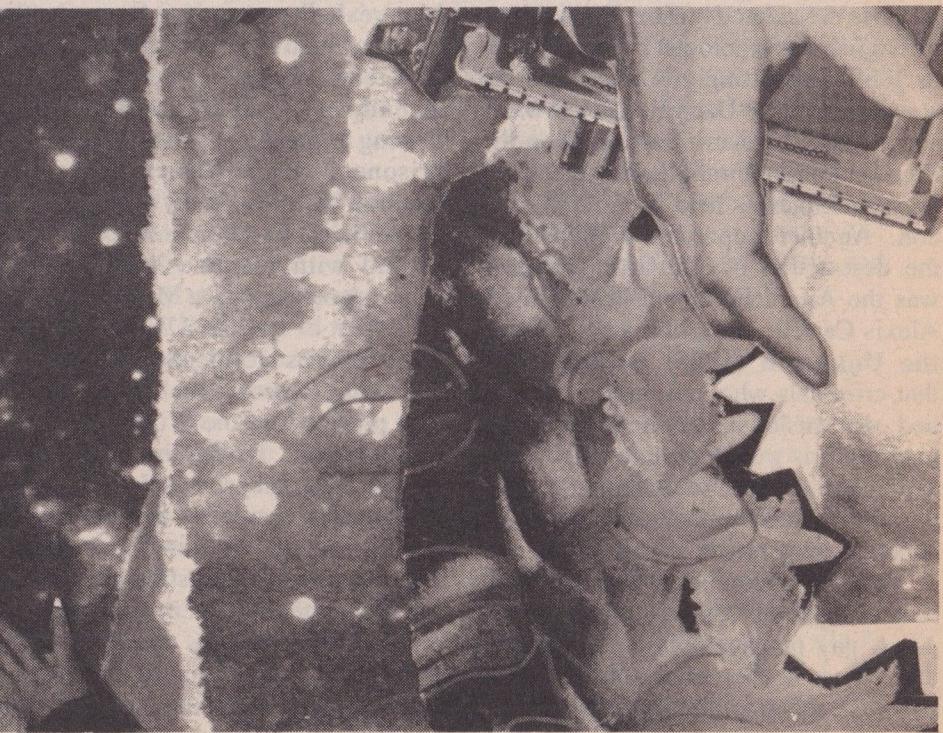
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# A note to our readers.....

one of the disturbing things about many left-wing journals is the way they ghettoize issues - dealing with green politics, but not with gays and lesbians, with anarchism but not with feminism and so on. "Kick it Over" has been trying to create a forum where people with common values and concerns can speak to each other regardless of whether they are punks or hippies, native activists, or environmentalists, feminists or anarchists.

In order for this dialogue to be as unmediated as possible, we have tried to have people speak for themselves through personal accounts, interviews, translations, Art, poetry and a down-to-earth style of writing. We don't demarcate theory but find that this is often best revealed through conversation and writing which retains a connection to lived experience. Because of our unwillingness to speak for others, and because our energies and connections are limited we have not always covered issues which we feel to be important such as South Africa and the situations of third world peoples. This we are hoping to rectify. Our next issue will begin to deal more directly with issues affecting third world peoples.

If you agree with what we're trying to do, then please know that we need your help to articulate a vision where issues are connected not separate, where politics and personal lives are joined not disjointed. Our deadline for the next issue is May 15.

Twisting the truth in Costa Rica

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## Twisting the truth in Costa Rica

by Felicida Shanti

TIC TOC tic toc Radio KCOJ. Son Las Cinco de la tarde. Hablamos del centro de democracia centro americana, San Jose Costa Rica. Tic toc tic toc (incessantly ticking throughout the broadcast).

Time Radio. It's five o'clock in the afternoon. we are speaking from the centre of Central American democracy, San Jose, Costa Rica.

The news. Two more Costa Rican civilians have been killed at the Nicaragua border. One of them was a young boy from Cartago. Bong!

Daniel Ortega calls more Nicaraguans to war against their own people. Many lay victim to the Sandinistas. Bong! (trumpet, heralding music, upbeat).

Free Enterprise produces Freedom. Costa Rica, a country of peace, where hard work determines which man will succeed. Support free enterprise. Bong!

A 3 minute excerpt from a typical

Costa Rican radio station reveals a level of media control so blatant that 1984 really seems like history. Manipulation of the Costa Rican people by their government (who is ultimately on U.S. puppet and purse strings) is a frightening form of control.

Costa Ricans are bombarded daily with anti-Nicaraguan news. Those who know the situation in Nicaragua realize that Costa Rican news is sheer malarkey, and even lies. Most Costa Ricans, however, have been convinced that Daniel Ortega et al are out to destroy the Costa Rican democracy. They believe the news reports of killings of innocent Costa Ricans by the "evil communists". They sincerely feel that a country such as Nicaragua, in a war against some of her own people, wants to overtake Costa Rica.

Not only radio, but T.V. and newspapers constantly use Nicaragua's name in

conjunction with the devil, communism, hunger, suffering. Costa Ricans are made to feel fortunate that their standard of living is higher. They are made to associate communism with starvation.

Every half an hour Costa Ricans are told that they live in the jewel of Central America. Democracy and peace co-exist, they are told.

Costa Rica has no army. The initiation of this apparently peaceful move was taken in 1948 by former President Jose Figueres. In Central American governments a struggle between the head of the republic and the head of the army often exists, with the latter inevitably coming out on top. By eliminating the army, Figueres ensured his own political power.

The situation is very complex and ultimately involves the United States government to a greater degree. To simplify matters however, Costa Rica will prob-

ably be reinstating an army to defend the country from "heathen of the North". The contras (or Reagan's endearing term — the freedom fighters) are already being trained by U.S. military advisors in northern parts of Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican Civil Rural Guard has recently changed its uniform to khaki green. Slowly they behave as well like an army. (Possibly this will be short lived, but strongly directed against Nicaragua.)

Media proliferation of anti-Nicaraguan sentiments may well convince the Costa Rican population that they require military defence. The initiative may succeed and help the "freedom fighters" gain strength.

So the Costa Rican political situation seems grim. Many beautiful aspects of Costa Rican life have been ignored in this article so as to focus on the issue of media control and U.S. involvement in Central America. BONG! □

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## Press Release

**ALL OUR LIVES/DE TODA LA VIDA**  
produced by Lisa Berger and Carol Mazer.

We think readers of **Kick It Over** will be interested in our video about women who participated in the social revolution in Spain in the 1930's. The women featured in **ALL OUR LIVES/DE TODA LA VIDA** are as dynamic now, in their eighties, as they were in their youth at the height of their work. They demonstrate how it has been possible

to take matters into their own hands instead of waiting for the government to act on their behalf. They bring to life their vision of "autogestion" or self-initiative as they worked to educate themselves, to create alternative institutions and new social relations like the "union libre" which replaced marriage based on economic dependence. These women also participated in the workers' cultural centers, the antifascist militia,

the agrarian and industrial collectives and in publishing. In the words of Suceso Portales, organizer with Mujeres Libres, the first independent working women's organization in Spain: "We weren't fighting a war in the ordinary sense of one major power against another, we were fighting to create a more just and humane society."

**ALL OUR LIVES/DE TODA LA VIDA** is the first visual portrait of women's role in the Spanish anarchist movement.

Spanish and English versions of this 30-minute colour video will be available by March 1, 1986 from Turning Tide Productions, P.O. Box 1008, Amherst, MA 01004 in the U.S. or from Carol Mazer, Asturias, 53, 1, 1; 08012 Barcelona, Spain.

Hortensia Torres and Dolores Prat in Toulouse, France in 1985. Both women participated in the formation of collectives in their native Spain in 1936. □

## Where Have All the Anarchists Gone?

Dear Folks:

I'm in a three month old anarchist group. We're studying together once a week, have done some stenciling, and are now silkscreening T-shirts and leaflets for an outreach project. We'd like to do more, but we need help.

Is there an anarchist federation? that's active?

Do groups network and correspond, share information and ideas?

It seems like groups are so isolated. We are. Could you put us in touch with other groups — send us an address list, whatever, please?

More specifically, are there anarchists who work on authoritarianism and race, sex, class, age, . . . ? And without becoming dull and too serious?

Are there any Solidarity groups still in existence, any anarcho-socialists, worker councilists, guild socialists — groups that integrate issues and form coalitions?

If not, why not?

Sometimes it seems we're as sectarian on authoritarianism and decentralization as Marxist/Leninists are on economics and a vanguard.

Is this true?

Hayla  
437 E. 6th Street (#6)  
New York, N.Y. 10009

## 'Enough Said' Issue

Dear KIO Collective Members:

First — the obvious — thank you for producing your fine publication and faithfully keeping anarchism as alive as it deserves to be. Someday maybe you can publish an 'Enough Said' issue, completely blank, when everyone is informed and we are on a better track. For now, however, I expect the pages must be full of diatribes, criticisms, programs (heaven forbid Manifestos and Constitutions) and the like,

identity;

- 2) it has provided a safe space for personal change and growth;
- 3) it has improved the efficiency of our meetings;
- 4) individuals have gained confidence in themselves in new skills and areas;
- 5) we have learned new attitudes and values based on co-operation, trust, and caring for each other;
- 6) though differences in power still exist within the collective, we have confronted them and are able to check the misuse of power. We are constantly working on these differences.

I've also been involved in the anti-uranium mining campaigns over the last ten years, and have taken a keen interest in the ecology movement. My last active involvement on this issue was in August 1984 when I organized a 700 km bicycle ride to the Blockade of the Roxby Downs Uranium Mine in south Australia.

Anarchist ideas are slowly gaining some acceptance in the Ecology Movement, and the Communes Movement.

I know KIO is financially on a knife-edge — but keep publishing please — I think you're doing important work. Erinna Redfearn's article on responsibility was excellent and raised many important issues.

Bye for now  
Love and Anarchy  
John Englart  
Australia

## Songs of Praise

Hello Kick It Over:

I've been searching for whatever it was that I think I lost when, after my first inspirational years of real consciousness, I stopped caring and loving — finding pleasure in my actions, ideas, my life. Maybe . . . like . . . I was walking around feeling like a lump on a log because, like Courage Pandora ("My Disillusionment With Ideology" Sept. '85), I was very disillusioned with the world around me and my inability to realize

that while militarism and militants were described at great length, the terms were actually never defined. I feel as though I am chasing shadows in responding to the piece. But for my purposes I shall define militants as being those people who, under the impulse of greater anger or ideological conviction, use methods that place them outside of social and/or legal norms. Logically enough, this would include supporters of such actions. (Dictionary definition: fighting, combatant person.)

It is clear from the forward, that 'militantism' is not considered so much a particular category of persons but actually some psychological condition present to some extent in all of us. And it is also clear that it is considered an abhorrent and aberrant characteristic. One can only imagine that Landstreet would want to conduct campaigns to rid the human race of this pathology. But asserting that it is ideas rather than people that express this pathology does not change that fact that even psychological traits cannot be set up in such dualistic categories. There is not one positive characteristic attributed to anyone who would ever use violence themselves or support those who do. Even when she allows that she can't totally condemn everyone who ever uses violence, the only motives that she can imagine them expressing are 'fear, anger and frustration.' It is ironic that Landstreet completely dehumanizes those people she criticizes for being dehumanizing.

The biggest problem with the article is that while assuming that it is making sweeping general truths about the political population, only a small percentage of people are literally being discussed, that is, those people who are clearly 'militants' as described, or committed pacifists. The vast majority of politically conscious and/or active people fit into neither category. But in attacking the 'militants', those people who have no intention of directly partaking of violence, yet support those who do (whether in first world or third), are smeared by implication and association. It is my intention to defend this category of people within

There is no doubt that to betray one's comrades is despicable, and it clearly threatens others and must be condemned. Yet this does not mean that we can not still respect her for the courage she had to do the actions she had undertaken for which we had supported her before? Belmas' actions illustrate not that she is sub-human but unfortunately all-too-human. Those of us who have not been asked to pay such a price for our politics should look very closely at ourselves before we judge so harshly.

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Anyway . . . Free University — great idea — I'm in. My suggestion would be to hold classes in the studios and homes of educators and students — that way the initial money for space rent would be avoided. Start up — fall '86 — let's get a calendar together. The possibilities are tremendously exciting.

Sincerely  
Julian Bowron  
Toronto, Ontario

## A Dedication

Dear Friends:

Thank you for publishing your magazine. I find it one of the more inspiring of libertarian magazines I read. Your flexibility and openness in publishing articles not traditionally covered is essential if the anarchist/libertarian movement is to be effective in moving forward. The dedication and commitment of your collective, which I

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I want to thank everyone of you at KIO — I found September's issue hanging around and read it cover to cover and *felt* something I only felt, or I think that I felt when I was younger. Man, you guys make me happy! — it's like things are pulling together for me and for people who act as they care and love. I'm no longer destined to hold onto my cynicism — shift the blame — make excuses and say "Poo! Guess I'll just go home and drink some coffee." Maybe you know what I mean.

I've always been involved doing my thing — ripping toilet paper off the shopping malls, putting on gigs, promoting my community — but I've never felt any direction — funny how one day you could pick up a rag — feel nothing, then, the next day — do the same and Bamm! You *feel* something. I mean it! I feel something!! I care! I feel to love!! I feel like chips on my shoulder have been replaced by wings of love, caring and positiveness. I don't do my thing — dragging myself around — kinda like the boost, the vitamin shot I needed happened through

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Tammaro/Devon

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I have been involved in anarchist groups in Sidney for the last 11 years. I've experienced two splits in groups I've been in. The first of these splits was essentially over whether we should have formal organization and structure in the group. Basically it was this split which led to the founding of Jura Books in 1977. The second split, in 1982, was in the Jura Books Collective. The essential issues were over structuring the collective to eliminate the informal power some members had acquired, and applying new ideas and ways of organizing the collective to distribute power more equally.

I was part of the group of people who split from Jura to form Redfern Black Rose. Since 1982, the Black Rose Collective has experimented with small group processes and structures and new meeting techniques. I feel we have been very successful in a number of areas:

- 1) it has built group cohesion and sol-

head.

I want to thank everyone of you at KIO — I found September's issue hanging around and read it cover to cover and *felt* something I only felt, or I think that I felt when I was younger. Man, you guys make me happy! — it's like things are pulling together for me and for people who act as they care and love. I'm no longer destined to hold onto my cynicism — shift the blame — make excuses and say "Poo! Guess I'll just go home and drink some coffee." Maybe you know what I mean.

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Thank you,  
Kirsti M.  
Montreal

## Defending Militants

I would like to respond to Lynna Landstreet's article in the last issue entitled, 'The Macho Revolutionary Syndrome'. I would admit that it was a well written and interesting polemic, but its serious deficiencies were all the more troubling since her overall points were negated by some very careless thinking. It was primarily a case of the setting up of a false position only to devastate it through criticism. It was most unfortunate

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The reactions to Julie Belmas of the Vancouver 5 testifying at her sentence appeal that she was intimidated into remaining part of the group by other members of Direct Action illustrate the range of response to a very emotional situation. The writer calling Belmas the lowest form of human in the Resistance section of **Open Road #18** is an example of the hardline approach. There were many others, including some of those most directly affected, who felt that her breaking should be seen not as the weakness of one particular individual but as a function of the viciousness of the state in sentencing a twenty-year-old to twenty years in prison.

Tammaro/Devon



It is rather insulting to all those people who have fought and died for their own protection, for their relatives tortured and killed, for their starving children, for a denied future to suggest that 'we've got to acknowledge and work through these feelings (that motivate violence) and find other ways to express them.' This is straight out EST and the other self-development groups that have preyed upon the alienated and lonely. They would like us all to see the world as a reflection of the inner self rather than understanding that the self is formed within the context of the social/political world within which we are born. It is when pacifists reduce complex struggles in Central America, the Philipines, Africa, the Caribbean to being a matter of the "feelings" of the oppressed that make it difficult for others to take pacifism as expressed seriously. Should we send down therapists or mediators to resolve the conflicts in Central America? What should people do when the army goes in and exterminates village after village? Should we feel condescension for those people with the courage who take up arms to fight for the protection of themselves and their children against a technologically superior force?

The world view expressed in the article is a mirror image of the one which it criticizes. There are only good and bad, either one is a pacifist or an unfeeling, political zombie ready to kill for politically disguised pleasure. The very weak forward simply doesn't

## *Kick It Over*

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## *Spring 1986*

alter the fact that this is the way in which Landstreet views the world. Because she is convinced that she has the correct line, she holds these other people in complete contempt, never expressing any doubts that advocating pacifism as the only correct guiding principle could increase suffering and aid in the continuation of overwhelming suffering. Yet the irony is that our lives as North Americans are based on the gun, on blood, on torture and the pain endured by the billions around the earth toiling to feed us or starving because they are of no use to our political and economic masters. Our land came from the slaughter of the Indians, much of the wealth built from the slave trade. Though one might not condone these practices and try to work against them, it seems odd to condemn those who use violence to resist violence. And it is even worse to assume that one is righteous enough to stand in judgement of some Hopi woman who might dare to protect her ancestral land with a gun as Landstreet does with much pulling of hair.

It is not that I don't see a multitude of problems with the use of force, there are many. It has been historically quite difficult to break out of the spiral of violence, though again it should be pointed out that the left only responds to the violence that is already being inflicted upon the people. It is always the poor, the women, the children who suf-

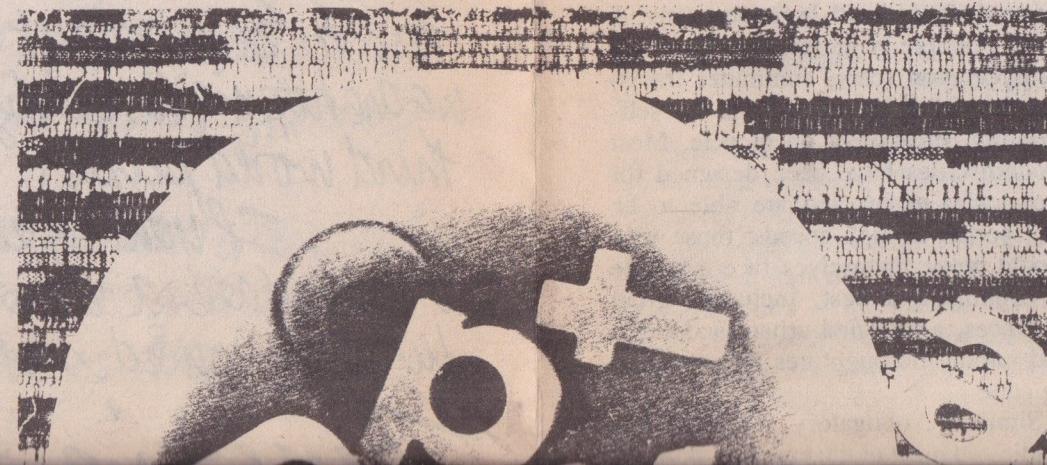
people, whether in the third world or first, begin to struggle with nothing but their individual and collective strength. And it is indeed fortunate that our philosophical and political hairsplitting is largely irrelevant to them.

Frankie Lee  
Toronto

## Howdy Folx:

I've been meaning to write in for quite a spell to express myself on the state of your nasty zine. I thought your Winter 85-86 issue was an improvement over previous ones and a lot more interesting. I wish you could come up with more imaginative covers. I really enjoyed the Jake Swamp interview and Sandino mini-bio. I always enjoy something from K.I.O. A problem I've consistently had with K.I.O. was reflected in the prison abolition articles you've run in recent issues. To sum them up, they said that we wouldn't have to put people in prison if we re-educated them. Sure, the articles advocated humane, community-oriented re-education, but let's just call brainwashing brainwashing. A basic tenet of the K.I.O. collective seems to be that if people all work hard enough to better themselves they'll eventually earn a just society. Sounds liberal enough to me. (I don't consider being called a liberal a compliment.) People aren't so bad as they are, and probably oughta slack off more, if the truth were known. The species evolves more favorably under those conditions. I always blame the world's ills on the tiny ruling elite that dominates social conditions. The bourgeoisie or whatever you want to call them. The majority of people are simply convinced of their powerlessness to turn matters to their and their planet's best interests. The masses aren't so stupid that they don't know what's right. They just need the oppression of authority thrown off them. K.I.O. resists this idea — more so in recent issues.

That seems to even be the hidden theme of your article "Kick Off Politics". Lynn, It



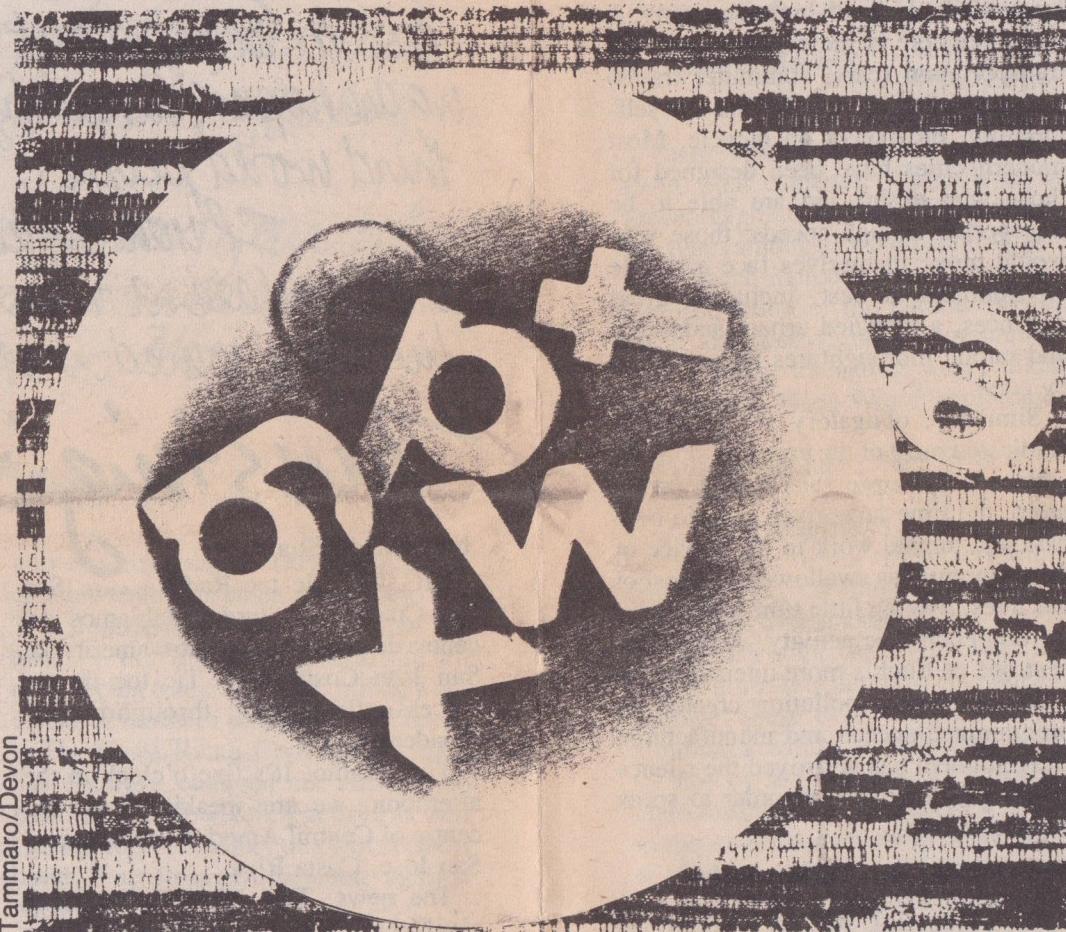
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That seems to even be the hidden theme of your article, "Jerk-Off Politics", Lynna. It clearly rejects any notion that a ruling elite causes the world's suffering more than the common people's attitudes. We need to change to be "good", eh? "Jerk-Off Politics" disturbed me because I couldn't figure out what I might agree with or disagree with in it. There were good points made depending on who they were directed at, but to publish it for general consumption seems to be plain elitist guilt-tripping of the population at large. For an article of its scope, it was emotional to the point of near-hysteria while being ahistorical and asociological. I'm sure you could find better quotes to back up such authoritative views, than to constantly use current music lyrics.

David Crowbar  
Michigan, U.S.A.

#### Lynna Landstreet responds:

First of all, if you couldn't figure out what you might agree or disagree with in my article, that's certainly not my problem. But on a more serious note, I definitely did not "reject any notion that a ruling elite causes the world's problems". I did, however, criticize the idea that merely getting rid of "the bourgeoisie or whatever" would solve all the world's problems. Too many people seem to feel that you can't recognize the existence of more than one form of oppres-

fer the most when a society breaks down into continuing strife. I can only despair that violence seems so inevitable.

Yet on what basis can one be optimistic that a non-violent movement can ever bring about wholesale change that would not in turn result in a wholesale blood bath? Advocates of pacifism seem strangely silent on successful examples of the use of non-violence. Gandhi is used repeatedly but what was accomplished in India? It is true that independence was granted but has that solved the problems of the hundreds of millions of poor peasants and landless urban dwellers who starve in their millions?

I am not at all interested in defending the

ant considers it to be almost a moral duty to completely cut themselves off from any feelings or sensitivity to others. On the contrary it is often due to a too heightened sensitivity, a too constant awareness of the misery and oppression of others, that certain individuals feel a need to participate in, or support, more militant actions. One need only read the public or personal writings of any number of people such as the Vancouver 5, the Ohio 7, or even, should I point out, the Animal Liberation Front, to know the depths of their feelings.

Does Landstreet doubt that members of the Ohio 7 felt great distress and pain when the police held their children incomunicado for 6 weeks after their arrest in the fall of 1984? Does she assume that the Vancouver 5 were completely insincere when they talked of their great sorrow for having injured people in the Litton bombing? Is it merely political manipulation that has motivated the Robideaus and other friends and relatives of Leonard Peltier to continue to fight for his release for over ten years? While Landstreet quotes from some feminist writers to support her statements, her perceptions of militants as unfeeling robots, pathological pseudo-revolutionaries, seem to have more in common with the bourgeois myth of the revolutionary than, say, of Marge Piercy's characterizations of Vida in the novel of the same name.

The reactions to Julie Belmas of the Vancouver 5 testifying at her sentence appeal that she was intimidated into remaining part of the group by other members of Direct Action illustrate the range of response to a very emotional situation. The writer calling Belmas the lowest form of human in the Resistance section of **Open Road #18** is an example of the hardline approach. There were many others, including some of those most directly affected, who felt that her breaking should be seen not as the weakness of one particular individual but as a function of the viciousness of the state in sentencing a twenty-year-old to twenty years in prison.



Tammaro/Devon

It is rather insulting to all those people who have fought and died for their own protection, for their relatives tortured and killed, for their starving children, for a denied future to suggest that "we've got to acknowledge and work through these feelings (that motivate violence) and find other ways to express them." This is straight out EST and the other self-development groups that have preyed upon the alienated and lonely. They would like us all to see the world as a reflection of the inner self rather than understanding that the self is formed within the context of the social/political world within which we are born. It is when pacifists reduce complex struggles in Central America, the Philipines, Africa, the Caribbean to being a matter of the "feelings" of the oppressed that make it difficult for others to take pacifism as expressed seriously. Should we send down therapists or mediators to resolve the conflicts in Central America? What should people do when the army goes in and exterminates village after village? Should we feel condescension for those people with the courage who take up arms to fight for the protection of themselves and their children against a technologically superior force?

The world view expressed in the article is a mirror image of the one which it criticizes. There are only good and bad, either one is a pacifist or an unfeeling, political zombie ready to kill for politically disguised pleasure. The very weak forward simply doesn't

fer the most when a society breaks down into continuing strife. I can only despair that violence seems so inevitable.

Yet on what basis can one be optimistic that a non-violent movement can ever bring about wholesale change that would not in turn result in a wholesale blood bath? Advocates of pacifism seem strangely silent on successful examples of the use of non-violence. Gandhi is used repeatedly but what was accomplished in India? It is true that independence was granted but has that solved the problems of the hundreds of millions of poor peasants and landless urban dwellers who starve in their millions?

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alter the fact that this is the way in which Landstreet views the world. Because she is convinced that she has the correct line, she holds these other people in complete contempt, never expressing any doubts that advocating pacifism as the only correct guiding principle could increase suffering and aid in the continuation of overwhelming suffering. Yet the irony is that our lives as North Americans are based on the gun, on blood, on torture and the pain endured by the billions around the earth toiling to feed us or starving because they are of no use to our political and economic masters. Our land came from the slaughter of the Indians, much of the wealth built from the slave trade. Though one might not condone these practices and try to work against them, it seems odd to condemn those who use violence to resist violence. And it is even worse to assume that one is righteous enough to stand in judgement of some Hopi woman who might dare to protect her ancestral land with a gun as Landstreet does with much pulling of hair.

It is not that I don't see a multitude of problems with the use of force, there are many. It has been historically quite difficult to break out of the spiral of violence, though again it should be pointed out that the left only responds to the violence that is already being inflicted upon the people. It is always the poor, the women, the children who suf-

people, whether in the third world or first, begin to struggle with nothing but their individual and collective strength. And it is indeed fortunate that our philosophical and political hairsplitting is largely irrelevant to them.

Frankie Lee  
Toronto

### Howdy Folx:

I've been meaning to write in for quite a spell to express myself on the state of your nasty zine. I thought your Winter 85-86 issue was an improvement over previous ones and a lot more interesting. I wish you could come up with more imaginative covers. I really enjoyed the Jake Swamp interview and Sandino mini-bio. I always enjoy something from **K.I.O.** A problem I've consistently had with **K.I.O.** was reflected in the prison abolition articles you've run in recent issues. To sum them up, they said that we wouldn't have to put people in prison if we re-educated them. Sure, the articles advocated humane, community-oriented re-education, but let's just call brainwashing brainwashing. A basic tenet of the **K.I.O.** collective seems to be that if people all work hard enough to better themselves they'll eventually earn a just society. Sounds liberal enough to me. (I don't consider being called a liberal a compliment.) People aren't so bad as they are, and probably oughta slack off more, if the truth were known. The species evolves more favorably under those conditions. I always blame the world's ills on the tiny ruling elite that dominates social conditions. The bourgeoisie or whatever you want to call them. The majority of people are simply convinced of their powerlessness to turn matters to their and their planet's best interests. The masses aren't so stupid that they don't know what's right. They just need the oppression of authority thrown off them. **K.I.O.** resists this idea — more so in recent issues.

That seems to even be the hidden theme of your article, "Jerk-Off Politics", Lynna. It

simplify its nature, describing it as a simple, two-tiered, Us/Them apparatus, consisting of "the bourgeoisie or whatever" on the one hand, and "the masses" on the other, in which "the masses" are just "convinced of their powerlessness". In my experience, hierarchy is a multi-leveled thing. Everyone is conditioned to obey whoever's above them in the pecking order, but they're also conditioned to shit on whoever's below them, and to compete with each other and scramble for a higher position.

As for "elitist guilt-tripping," I don't see how you got that out of it when I clearly stated at the beginning of the article that I was talking about "a mindset present to some extent in all of us, including — obviously — myself". And, yes, the article was emotional, because I am an emotional person, a real human being with real human feelings, which, unlike most people (most men in particular) I don't try to hide. I don't think emotion is any less valid than intellect, and reject the patriarchal bias that separates the two and devalues the one considered "feminine". And I really don't give a fuck if the article was "ahistorical and asocial". I'm not writing an essay or a textbook, I'm just trying to express concern about a tendency I have noticed in the anarchist community which I find very upsetting. Sorry if anyone's offended by the fact that I'm not one of those middle-aged academic anarchists with five university degrees and umpteen years of experience, and I haven't read all the right books, but I'm only 22 and more influenced by Crass than by Kropotkin. Which brings me to the issue of my use of music quotes (I had a whole lot picked out to use in this response, but I didn't have room). In the first place, I only used two music quotes, and seventeen from other sources, mainly people I know), which hardly amounts to "constantly" using music lyrics, but that's really not the issue. I don't use quotes to "back up" my opinions, just when I feel that someone else has said something better than I could, or I want to comment on something someone else said. As I said, I haven't read all the right books,

economy be affected?

5) How much predicting can you do before the relevance of such predictions gives way to speculation and/or guessing?

6) Do you believe that Inuit of decades ago lived in an anarchist community, the state of which can be revived in Canada from coast to coast?

7) What do you think of these questions?

8) Is socialism more idealistic than anarchism?

9) What must be done to promote an increase in the number of anarchists?

10) Are there any surveys of anarchists which reveal any common bond (like, are a lot of anarchists in any particular age group)?

11) Is there much disagreement between anarchists in how to 'get' anarchy, or what life would be like?

I'm not sure what reaction these questions will get. I know some are very general, and some more than a bit dumb, but I am asked these questions. I'd really like to hear some response from you. It could be very interesting. I also realize that you could write books for some of these questions. So, I hope you accept the challenge, and that it's a good experience.

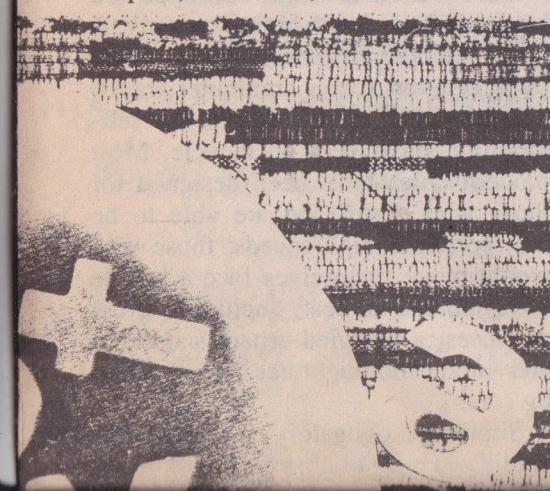
Glenn R. Haint  
London, Ontario

### Real Radicals

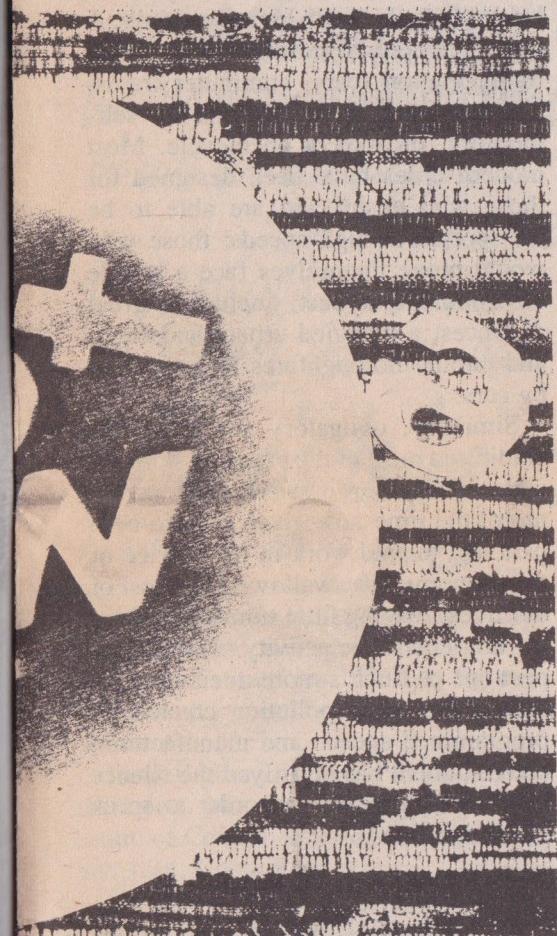
Dear Kick It Over:

If you people are so concerned with the problem of the macho revolutionary syndrome, why don't you: change the name of your journal/collective, stop glorifying people like Sandino (let the Marxists keep him), and run some pieces on some real radicals like Ghandi and Martin Luther King Jr.

There is absolutely nothing radical about violence; it's as old as the hills. One need not be an advanced logician to realize that anarchist principles of anti-authoritarianism imply principles of non-violence (leaving aside here the issue of immediate self-de-



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That seems to even be the hidden theme of your article, "Jerk-Off Politics", Lynna. It clearly rejects any notion that a ruling elite causes the world's suffering more than the common people's attitudes. We need to change to be "good", eh? "Jerk-Off Politics" disturbed me because I couldn't figure out what I might agree with or disagree with in it. There were good points made depending on who they were directed at, but to publish it for general consumption seems to be plain elitist guilt-tripping of the population at large. For an article of its scope, it was emotional to the point of near-hysteria while being ahistorical and asociological. I'm sure you could find better quotes to back up such authoritative views, than to constantly use current music lyrics.

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P.S.: "Jerk-Off Politics, Part 2: Anarcho-Sexism, Lesbophobia, and Other Social Diseases of the Left" will probably appear in the next K.I.O.

#### London Calling

To the Entire  
KIO Collective:

I enjoy your magazine immensely. I wouldn't call myself an anarchist, though I see anarchism as the most appealing ideology, and capitalism/imperialism as the least appealing. I really like on the Crass album "Yes Sir I will" when a moron asks "who would fix my video", to the reply "what if I told you to fuck off". I formulate my own answers to this type of question in defense of anarchism, but my thoughts and theories are not as educated as, say Murray Bookchin's, in respect to anarchism. So, I would deeply appreciate and learn from your collective

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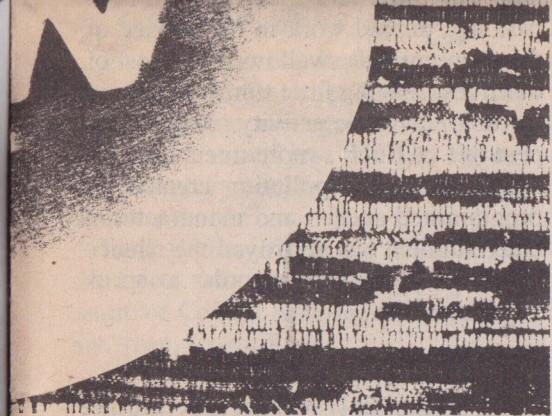
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There is absolutely nothing radical about violence; it's as old as the hills. One need not be an advanced logician to realize that anarchist principles of anti-authoritarianism imply principles of non-violence (leaving aside here the issue of immediate self-defense). The quotation below represents one of the most concise comments on the relationship of anarchism to violent revolution, penned ironically by Mr. Friedrich Engels.

*"Have these gentlemen [the 'anti-authoritarian socialists' against whom Engels' polemic was directed] ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets, and cannon — authoritarian means, if such there be at all..."*

Those interested in a non-authoritarian society need to forget what is essentially a Nineteenth-Century European tradition of violent revolt. Images of the sans-culottes, Bakunin on the barricades, or the Paris Commune amount to little more than nostalgia. Smashing people and things up, or kicking them over, is nothing but an infantile expression of impotence and frustration. Patient organization of popular desire for change represents a much more complex and difficult task, but also an infinitely more progressive one.

Sincerely,  
Jonathan Orcutt  
Boston, Mass.



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Living without leadership or rule or police ... living in anarchy:

1) What should we do about people taking up arms (from military warehouses made museums, for instance) and taking positions of authority by this intimidating force?

2) How could we prevent unions, or gangs from forming, and controlling people through threat?

3) Wouldn't there be a massive increase in crime and vengeance for crime, including murder and destruction of the environment?

4) How would corporate manipulations of people, the environment, and the

of the most concise comments on the relationship of anarchism to violent revolution, penned ironically by Mr. Friedrich Engels.

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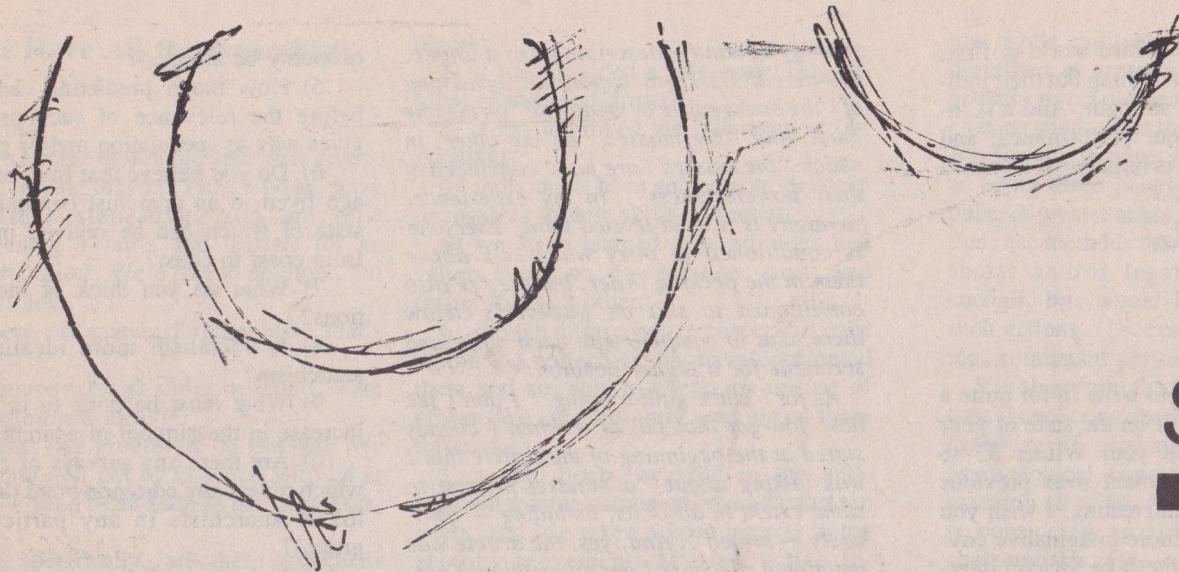
Sincerely,  
Jonathan Orcutt  
Boston, Mass.

#### ALTERNATIVES ARE JUST ANOTHER WAY FOR CAPITALISTS TO RULE

In a social structure that encourages everyone, including anarchists, into various forms of reliance on the state, I am encouraged about the growth in alternative economic structures. Housing and food co-ops, food buying clubs, community meals, community economic development projects and free universities are a welcome change from the mainstream state and capitalist ideals. I am discouraged, however, because all such alternative economic structures tend to evolve into mini-ghettos and lose their connections to real social change.

Currently I live in a housing co-op and am

**continued on page 16**



*The following article is an introduction to the thought of Ivan Illich, a social philosopher whose ideas have inspired much of the current 'back to basics' counter-culture. Clifford Maynes is the former editor of the Nuclear Free Press, and helped organize the recent conference on 'The Price of Progress' in Peterborough, Ontario where some of these ideas were presented and discussed.*

by Clifford Maynes

There is fairly widespread agreement about what constitute the evils of advanced capitalism. Most politically active types among us would come up with a list which includes social inequality, the destruction of the natural environment, the destruction of communities and cultures, alienating work, disempowerment, Third World exploitation, and so on.

Nothing unusual in any of that.

hand. The realm of subsistence lies outside the cash nexus.

Subsistence activities include growing and preparing food for our own nourishment, making our own homes, learning independently, taking charge of our own health, and exploring the world on our own. Other examples include an evening of conversation and home-made music among friends, the advice and support given by a community of friends to one who is troubled, and the direct experience of nature during a walk in the countryside.

But if subsistence is characterized by making and doing, the economy is characterized by having and consuming. Within the economy, we buy our food off the shelf or in a restaurant, we buy or rent mass-produced housing, we 'get' an education, we consume health care, and we are escorted through foreign lands on package tours. Entertainment is the product of a multi-billion dollar industry, personal advice and support are provided by certified professionals, and the direct experience of nature is available for a price.

incredible improvements in productive efficiency which have been achieved through the industrial mode of production. New processes, new technologies, and new ways of deploying and managing labour have successfully generated an output of commodities beyond the wildest imaginings of an earlier age.

Admittedly, industrialism can claim some spectacular successes. But amid the general enthusiasm for economic growth, which even now burns brightly throughout much of the world, many costs have been missed entirely, and others have been drastically underestimated.

#### The Destruction of Subsistence

One cost of industrialism — a central one — has been the destruction of subsistence, as the circle of production and consumption has grown larger, the realm of subsistence has been banished to the nether reaches of society. It has been marginalized — eclipsed. All that remains is a little bit of community, some family, some nature (what's left of it), and a few other isolated pockets.

economic expansion is less overtly violent — less conscious and deliberate — but there is nevertheless an element of compulsion in it which is missed by those who concentrate solely on the seductiveness of advertising. This is evident, for example, in the tremendous power which professionals and experts have accumulated to diagnose our 'needs' and to prescribe the cure, often backed up by the force of law.

But subsistence is also destroyed as a by-product of growth in the economy. A good example is the manner in which transportation (cars, commuter trains) has destroyed the conditions for self-mobility, on foot or on bicycle. Most modern cities have been designed for those who desire and are able to be transported at high speeds; those who would move themselves face a hostile environment at best, including great distances, a mangled urban landscape, and public thoroughfares monopolized by cars.

Similarly, obligatory schooling has eradicated most of the practical skills by which people were subtended. Further,

## SHRINKING THE

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There is something unusual, however, in arguing that these evils cannot be eliminated within any society which, like our own, is dominated by industrial production and consumption.

Yet such is the case. Although much can be done here and now to reduce the damage, these evils cannot finally be eliminated within an industrial society — not by a spontaneous "change in consciousness", not even by a transfer in the nominal ownership of the means of production from the capitalists to the workers, as the Marxists propose.

Instead, more radical change is needed, including an absolute reduction in industrial production and consumption, together with a strengthening of the means — some new, some old — by which communities of people can satisfy their needs outside the formal economy.

### Subsistence and the Economy

The accompanying diagram may help to explain. In figures A and B the larger

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In the economy, we sell our labour for wages in order to get the money we need to have and consume.

**FIGURES A and B** depict an historical progression. In the first diagram, the formal economy is very small. This is a 'pre-industrial' society, in which most needs are satisfied through subsistence activities. The sector of formal economic activity in this society consists of those limited markets which are held to exchange goods which are surplus to the needs of a family or community.

In the second diagram, which depicts a society like our own, the economy has grown fantastically. It has grown, in fact, to the point at which people's lives are lived almost entirely in and through the economy. This is an industrial society.

The transition from pre-industrial to industrial is usually seen as a wondrous journey from scarcity to relative abundance. In other cases, traditional mig-

efficiency which have been achieved through the industrial mode of production. New processes, new technologies, and new ways of deploying and managing labour have successfully generated an output of commodities beyond the wildest imaginings of an earlier age.

Admittedly, industrialism can claim some spectacular successes. But amid the general enthusiasm for economic growth, which even now burns brightly throughout much of the world, many costs have been missed entirely, and others have been drastically underestimated.

### The Destruction of Subsistence

One cost of industrialism — a central one — has been the destruction of subsistence. As the circle of production and consumption has grown larger, the realm of subsistence has been banished to the nether reaches of society. It has been marginalized — eclipsed. All that remains is a little bit of community, some family, some nature (what's left of it!), and a few backward or brave souls who have somehow resisted being drawn into the system.

The economy has grown to the point at which the alternative of subsistence no longer exists for most people, most of the time. Subsistence has been imperialized, criminalized, crowded out, and demeaned. The community life, customs, legal guarantees, natural environment and other conditions necessary to subsistence have largely been destroyed.

The fate of indigenous peoples in the face of progress demonstrates the essentially violent nature of this process. John Bodley's **Victims of Progress** outlines the various means by which the industrialized world (both capitalist and socialist) has sought to incorporate the entire planet within the economic sphere. In some cases peoples have been exterminated outright or driven from their land on the justification that white settlers will use the land more productively. In other cases, traditional mig-

ent — less conscious and deliberate — but there is nevertheless an element of compulsion in it which is missed by those who concentrate solely on the seductiveness of advertising. This is evident, for example, in the tremendous power which professionals and experts have accumulated to diagnose our 'needs' and to prescribe the cure, often backed up by the force of law.

But subsistence is also destroyed as a by-product of growth in the economy. A good example is the manner in which transportation (cars, commuter trains) has destroyed the conditions for self-mobility, on foot or on bicycle. Most modern cities have been designed for those who desire and are able to be transported at high speeds; those who would move themselves face a hostile environment at best, including great distances, a mangled urban landscape, and public thoroughfares monopolized by cars.

Similarly, obligatory schooling has eradicated most of the practical skills by which people once subsisted. Furthermore, the time now given over to both paid and unpaid work in the service of the economy has swallowed up most of our lives, leaving little time and energy for non-economic activity. And, to repeat one of Illich's more interesting insights, the noise pollution created by programmed speech and manufactured entertainment has destroyed the silence which people require in order to speak for themselves.

### The Growth of the Economy

In industrial society, economic growth is relentless. Every recess of human existence is invaded and colonized. New needs are constantly discovered; new goods and services are devised to meet those needs. And while paid employment is no longer growing at previous rates, it is also true that almost everybody who does not have a job now defines himself (and increasingly, herself) as 'unemployed'. In other words, we define ourselves relative to

ever, in arguing that these evils cannot be eliminated within any society which, like our own, is dominated by industrial production and consumption.

Yet such is the case. Although much can be done here and now to reduce the damage, these evils cannot finally be eliminated within an industrial society — not by a spontaneous “change in consciousness”, not even by a transfer in the nominal ownership of the means of production from the capitalists to the workers, as the Marxists propose.

Instead, more radical change is needed, including an absolute reduction in industrial production and consumption, together with a strengthening of the means — some new, some old — by which communities of people can satisfy their needs outside the formal economy.

### Subsistence and the Economy

The accompanying diagram may help to explain. In figures A and B the larger outer circle represents life within a particular society. The smaller circles divide the societies into two relatively distinct realms: on the inside is the formal economy, in which goods and services are traded for money and human needs are satisfied through the consumption of commodities; on the outside is what Ivan Illich terms the *realm of subsistence*, in which human needs are satisfied directly, by making use of the social and natural environment at

price.

In the economy, we sell our labour for wages in order to get the money we need to have and consume.

**FIGURES A and B** depict an historical progression. In the first diagram, the formal economy is very small. This is a ‘pre-industrial’ society, in which most needs are satisfied through subsistence activities. The sector of formal economic activity in this society consists of those limited markets which are held to exchange goods which are surplus to the needs of a family or community.

In the second diagram, which depicts a society like our own, the economy has grown fantastically. It has grown, in fact, to the point at which people’s lives are lived almost entirely in and through the economy. This is an industrial society.

The transition from pre-industrial to industrial is usually seen as a wondrous journey from scarcity to relative abundance — out of the darkness and into the sunshine of modernity. Although industrial society has been criticized on a number of grounds — for example, the inequitable distribution of goods, and the damage to the environment — the critics usually assume that these flaws can be remedied by political action within industrial society. The essential virtue of economic progress is seldom questioned.

Apologists for progress point to the

who have somehow resisted being drawn into the system.

The economy has grown to the point at which the alternative of subsistence no longer exists for most people, most of the time. Subsistence has been imperialized, criminalized, crowded out, and demeaned. The community life, customs, legal guarantees, natural environment and other conditions necessary to subsistence have largely been destroyed.

The fate of indigenous peoples in the face of progress demonstrates the essentially violent nature of this process. John Bodley’s **Victims of Progress** outlines the various means by which the industrialized world (both capitalist and socialist) has sought to incorporate the entire planet within the economic sphere. In some cases peoples have been exterminated outright or driven from their land on the justification that white settlers will use the land more productively. In other cases, traditional migratory patterns of subsistence, such as nomadism and swidden agriculture, have been outlawed in favour of forced permanent settlement (often with disastrous environmental consequences). Measures designed to force local inhabitants to abandon subsistence in favour of paid employment have included the imposition of hut taxes, and even the deliberate destruction of traditional food sources.

In our own society, the process of

more, the time now given over to both paid and unpaid work in the service of the economy has swallowed up most of our lives, leaving little time and energy for non-economic activity. And, to repeat one of Illich’s more interesting insights, the noise pollution created by programmed speech and manufactured entertainment has destroyed the silence which people require in order to speak for themselves.

### The Growth of the Economy

In industrial society, economic growth is relentless. Every recess of human existence is invaded and colonized. New needs are constantly discovered; new goods and services are devised to meet those needs. And while paid employment is no longer growing at previous rates, it is also true that almost everybody who does not have a job now defines himself (and increasingly, herself) as ‘unemployed’. In other words, we define ourselves relative to our participation in the economy. At the same time, there has been an explosion in unpaid employment — what Illich calls “shadow work” — consisting of those activities which are not remunerated but which are necessary to the functioning of the economy (e.g., consuming, commuting, ‘women’s work’, and the work which many self-help groups do to prepare their members to the good clients of professional care).

The costs associated with this process

# ECONOMY

can be placed in four major categories:

**1. Loss of Power.** When subsistence is destroyed, people lose power. They lose the most important kind of power there is, the power to make and do things for themselves. Their capacity to exercise their natural talents is stifled. In a real sense they pass from active living to passive consuming. They become dependent — on commodities, on treatments, on professional advice and direction.

The story of what has happened to women in industrial society provides a good example. At one point in our culture, childbirth and child-rearing (at least to a certain age), were considered to be women's domain. Whatever we might think of the appropriateness of this particular gender distinction, there was real power there. Before the 1790's in France, for example, women could determine whether a baby with a birth defect should live or die, without fear of interference from church or state.) Subsequently, this domain was increasingly invaded. Women's bodies became the

more a society produces and consumes, the greater the frustration. But because we have lost the art of living necessary for subsistence, this frustration is translated into a demand for more production and consumption, in a desperate attempt to fill the hole. Thus growth is addictive.

**3. The Modernization of Poverty.** Like the rich, the poor also become addicted to consumption. The difference in the case of the poor is that they cannot afford to stay in the game. Economic progress constantly raises the minimum standards of consumption, presenting the poor with increasingly higher hurdles to jump. Illich calls this the modernization of poverty.

**4. The Industrialization of Values.** The degree to which we have become commodity-dependent and growth-addicted through the destruction of subsistence explains a lot about how our industrial society — the same holds true for any industrial society — treats nature and human beings. Since the primary goal is the maximization of output,

less economy. Freedom would also suffer because limits of this sort would have to be imposed and enforced by the state.

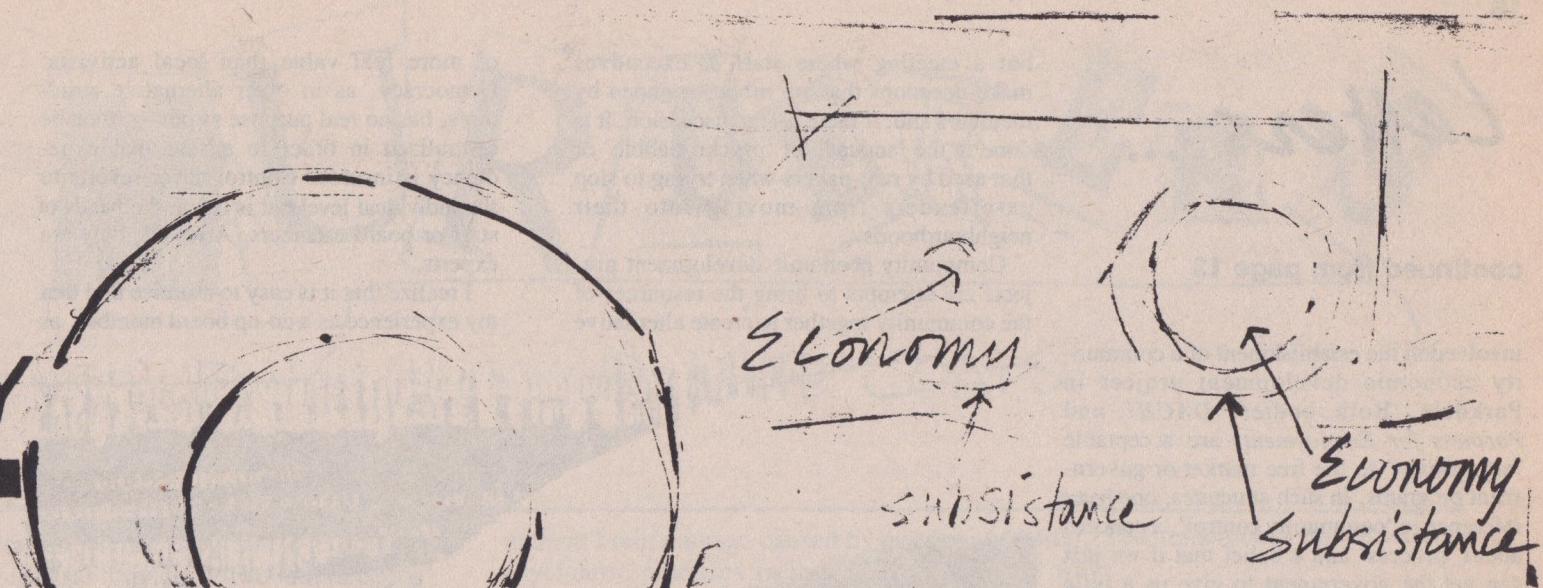
At the same time as the circle of the economy is reduced in size, the area outside the circle — the realm of subsistence — must be revitalized, strengthened, and developed in new ways. We have got to create what Illich terms "modern subsistence". We have to find ways to increase our capacity to throw off commodity dependence and meet our needs outside the economy.

The goal is not to eliminate industrial production, but to reduce it to a level at which it can be controlled — a level at which the realm of subsistence serves as an effective counter-balance to the demands of the economy.

How do we accomplish that? At a personal level, we can do a great deal to unplug from the economy, by limiting consumption, refusing to be locked into a 'career' or permanent full-time employment, learning practical subsistence skills, etc. We can learn to make

demands for the right to paid employment and the right to consume. We've also got to fight for protection against **obligatory** consumption. For example, Illich proposes a law forbidding hiring of professional certification on the basis of having attended a particular curriculum, the idea being that people should be free to learn a skill or a body of knowledge by whatever means they choose, including through self-instruction. And we've got to fight against particular economic projects which destroy the natural and social environment on which subsistence rests, and which lock us into higher levels of consumption and production (for example: nuclear power plants, expressways, genetic engineering of seeds, etc.).

The constituency for the politics of subsistence cannot be easily defined and 'targeted' in advance. As Murray Bookchin argues, no single class within society can be identified as the agent of social change. But potential adherents can be found within every politically active sector — among environmen-



there is, the power to make and do things for themselves. Their capacity to exercise their natural talents is stifled. In a real sense they pass from active living to passive consuming. They become dependent — on commodities, on treatments, on professional advice and direction.

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**2. Addiction.** As people lose the power to subsist, they are increasingly dependent on goods and services to meet their needs. But there is a limit to which the increased consumption of goods and services can substitute for our lost capacity to satisfy our own needs. Illich points to the rising frustration with industrial solutions: more money spent on transportation produces traffic jams; more money spent on medicalized health services produces new diseases and new treatments, but not better

lated into a demand for more production and consumption, in a desperate attempt to fill the hole. Thus growth is addictive.

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**4. The Industrialization of Values.** The degree to which we have become commodity-dependent and growth-addicted through the destruction of subsistence explains a lot about how our industrial society — the same holds true for any industrial society — treats nature and human beings. Since the primary goal is the maximization of output, nature and human beings have value primarily in accordance with their contribution to production. The consequences are obvious: nature becomes 'natural resources' and is ravaged and poisoned; human beings become 'labour', and are treated as cogs in a machine without a mind or will of their own.

Although our society is not entirely at ease with the industrialization of values — for example, there is widespread and genuine concern about environmental destruction — it seems unlikely that the values which don't fit can ever play more than a secondary role. As long as production and consumption dominate, concerns about the environment, work alienation, occupational health, etc. will be subservient. And new evils are bound to arise more rapidly than the old ones are remedied by middle class reformers with humane sensibilities.

### Reclaiming Subsistence

What, then, needs to be done? To return to the diagram, the circle which represents the economy must be reduced in diameter. This means a reduction in

At the same time as the circle of the economy is reduced in size, the area outside the circle — the realm of subsistence — must be revitalized, strengthened, and developed in new ways. We have got to create what Illich terms "modern subsistence". We have to find ways to increase our capacity to throw off commodity dependence and meet our needs outside the economy.

The goal is not to eliminate industrial production, but to reduce it to a level at which it can be controlled — a level at which the realm of subsistence serves as an effective counter-balance to the demands of the economy.

How do we accomplish that? At a personal level, we can do a great deal to unplug from the economy, by limiting consumption, refusing to be locked into a 'career' or permanent full-time employment, learning practical subsistence skills, etc. We can learn to make do with style.

But a strategy based on the purely personal would be sterile and doomed to failure. We need to build community, which is the true foundation of subsistence. And we need to develop what Illich terms "convivial tools" — technologies which are designed not for commodity production, but to be used freely by people for their own ends. Unlike industrial tools, *convivial tools* are relatively inexpensive and simple to understand (although they may require considerable skill). Compare a bicycle with a car, or low power hand tools with factory assembly lines. Illich suggests that there is much to be done in the way of developing a full range of convivial tools, since the industrial bias of this society has led to their neglect or suppression. And we also need institutions which help to bring people together for mutually agreed-upon purposes to replace top-down institutions, such as systems, which are designed to manufacture professionally-determined outputs.

Finally, we need a politics aimed at protecting and reclaiming subsistence.

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The constituency for the politics of subsistence cannot be easily defined and 'targeted' in advance. As Murray Bookchin argues, no single class within society can be identified as the agent of social change. But potential adherents can be found within every politically active sector — among environmentalists who cannot swallow the increasingly economicistic leanings of the movement, and who perceive a real conflict between economic growth and environmental protection; among civil libertarians who come to realize that the state can never guarantee true liberty; among feminists who do not share the goal of equal workplace alienation; among workers who want not simply to be better paid, but to change the nature of work; and among Third World solidarity activists who realize that 'development' is the problem not the solution.

The subsistence movement has to be built. Our success in doing this depends partly on our ability to develop and express a clear understanding of both the nature of current industrial society and our objectives for the future. □

### Postscript:

Much of this analysis is inspired by the works of Ivan Illich. Suggested priority readings include *Tools for Conviviality* and *The Right to Useful Unemployment*. For expanded case

ease to be treated by doctors; the state took over a major role in child-rearing with the introduction of universal, obligatory schooling; and every aspect of infant and child care became subject to the standards devised by outside agencies and experts. In effect, child-rearing passed from the realm of subsistence to the realm of the economy. In the process, women lost power. Significantly, they lost power to male-controlled professions and institutions — which is not surprising, since the economy is male-controlled.

**2. Addiction.** As people lose the power to subsist, they are increasingly dependent on goods and services to meet their needs. But there is a limit to which the increased consumption of goods and services can substitute for our lost capacity to satisfy our own needs. Illich points to the rising frustration with industrial solutions: more money spent on transportation produces traffic jams; more money spent on medicalized health services produces new diseases and new treatments, but not better health. And so on. Illich suggests that there is a balance between what people need to do for themselves, and what they need to have engineered, managed, manufactured, or otherwise done for them. Our own society is drastically overweighted, he argues, toward the latter.

The result is a vicious circle. The

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### Reclaiming Subsistence

What, then, needs to be done? To return to the diagram, the circle which represents the economy must be reduced in diameter. This means a reduction in production and consumption, and a reduction in the amount of work we do, both paid and unpaid, in the service of the economy. It means rolling back the economy.

But that's not all it means. If it were, people (especially the poor) would surely suffer because, at present, most of us are incapable of making do with

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Finally, we need a politics aimed at protecting and reclaiming subsistence. It is not possible here to do justice to the subject of subsistence politics; however, some things can be said. For one, our politics will clearly be at odds with both capitalism and industrial socialism. And, although it is not inconsistent for us to be concerned with achieving justice **within** the economy, our focus must be broader than the usual

movement, and who perceive a real conflict between economic growth and environmental protection; among civil libertarians who come to realize that the state can never guarantee true liberty; among feminists who do not share the goal of equal workplace alienation; among workers who want not simply to be better paid, but to change the nature of work; and among Third World solidarity activists who realize that 'development' is the problem not the solution.

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### Postscript:

*Much of this analysis is inspired by the works of Ivan Illich. Suggested priority readings include Tools for Conviviality and The Right to Useful Unemployment. For expanded case studies, see Deschooling Society, Energy and Equity, and Medical Nemesis. Shadow Work addresses the subject of unpaid work in the service of the economy, while Gender, the least appealing of all of Illich's works, examines the effects on women and men of the transition from 'vernacular' to economic society.*

# Letters....

continued from page 13

involved in the establishment of a community economic development project in Parkdale. Both bodies, *DACHI* and *Partners for Employment*, are acceptable 'alternatives' to the free market or government programs. In such structures, one hears reference to 'community control', a concern about 'process' and a belief that if we just can get the government to give us a little more money, we will be able to do more for the unemployed/poor/disadvantaged in our society.

Credit unions and food co-ops provide opportunities to pool one's economic resources to bring control over economic or physical survival back to one's self. Of course, the staff knows more about financial matters or how to deal with the wholesalers so such duties should fall to them.

Yet just over 100 years ago people were being beaten for trying to establish credit unions, housing co-operatives were an ideal of the ultra-left/feminist and other forms of co-operative endeavours faced massive community opposition. Now such bodies have become part of the institutionalized alternative community, practicing the same forms of exclusivity, specialization of labour, centralization of power and acting in much the same pro-authoritarian way banks, landlords, supermarkets and the state operates.

Trying to develop alternative economic models in the face of such situations is frighteningly frustrating. Co-operative households tend to not be co-operative or supportive of individual differences but operate more on the principles of self-interest

but a meeting where staff & executives make decisions that are rubber-stamped by members and, if there is any discussion, it is done in the language of 'psycho-babble' or that used by rate-payers when trying to stop ex-offenders from moving into their neighbourhoods.

Community economic development projects are attempts to bring the resources of the community together to create alternative

of more real value than local activists. Democracy, as in other alternative structures, has no real purpose as power must be centralized in order to ensure that expediency is insured. Control never reverts to the individual level but is left in the hands of staff or board members. After all, they are experts.

I realize that it is easy to criticize and that my experience as a co-op board member, as

cynicism may be leading to unjust criticism. I wonder, though, if their vision will end up being any less co-optable.

We have watched such forces for massive social change such as unions, credit unions and the various churches become co-opted. They have become institutionalized and bureaucratized, are willing to accept state regulation and cease demanding radical social transformation. Will the new alternative housing efforts, eg. squatters, end up as just another program that the government uses like the Ontario Housing Company to aid the homeless? Will new methods of food and clothing distribution end up like the co-ops of the prairies that treat their staff like peons and their members like intruders? What happens when the initial visionaries go? Among the founders of The Planned Parenthood Federation was Emma Goldman. Does its structure and tactics bear much resemblance to her ideals?

As anarchists seeking a world of egalitarianism, where people are treated as having worth and value, and where all people can have control over their own lives, we keep finding the barrier of achieving our dreams. If we set up alternative structures, what do we do when we find them becoming duplicates of what we are criticising? Should we give up or keep trying? Should we explore what has failed in the past or avoid such study so that we can start new experiments not carrying pre-conceived notions? What is the role of the individual in any alternative structure? Why is it that individuals tend to have to submerge their own interests and ideals of they are to be a part of the alternative structure? Dissent is punished more readily in the anarchist/peace/social justice movements than we are willing to admit.

Perhaps we should not criticize the work of those trying to establish co-ops, alternative social structures, community economic development projects, union locals or alternative housing networks. Such work must continue and the mainstream is very effec-



## Kick It Over

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Trying to develop alternative economic models in the face of such situations is frighteningly frustrating. Co-operative households tend to not be co-operative or supportive of individual differences but operate more on the principles of self-interest. Housing co-operatives take such trends and isolate themselves from society as a whole, avoiding supporting squatters, peace activities, decentralized power structures and other visions of change in order to preserve themselves. Meeting of co-op central bodies tend to resemble not a federation of equals

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employment opportunities. Consultant fees average \$300/day. By trying to encourage local economic control and democratic decision making, they claim to be a real alternative model for economic change. However, there is a definite hierarchy in the field, where outside experts are considered to be

a delegate to The Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto or as a staff member for a community economic development project can only provide me with a view of 'official alternative structures.' Gary Moffatt and others are attempting to develop unofficial alternative structures and my

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Perhaps we should not criticize the work of those trying to establish co-ops, alternative social structures, community economic development projects, union locals or alternative housing networks. Such work must continue and the mainstream is very effective in ensuring that the criticism is kept up. Despite my hopeless cynicism, I am active in the official alternative structures and realize that anything that truly encourages and supports the free association of indi-

**continued on page 20**

## book reviews

Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media and the Making of the Modern Age*

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**continued on page 20**

# book reviews

**Todd Gitlin, The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media In The Making And Unmaking Of The New Left.**  
*University of California Press, Berkeley, 327 pages, \$12.95 (US).*

by Marc Raboy

The Sixties was a time when innocence and imagination walked hand in hand. And, Todd Gitlin would no doubt add, the media recorded every step.

Gitlin, a former SDS president and now a Berkeley sociologist, has studied the media/movement relationship from the perspective of the American new left. The result is an important contribution, not only to our understanding of the period, but more pertinently, to today's maturing strategies for political action.

Gitlin's book joins an expanding literature of reflections on the history of the new left, but its main interest lies in its dealing with the role of media in our society, and especially in the questions it raises for activists who are trying to swim against the dominant social current. Media have most often been ignored, or at times underestimated, on the left, and we are only beginning to acquire the critical tools for an analytical perspective on questions concerning

the promotion and propagation of new, alternative ideas, politics, lifestyles and workstyles.

Briefly, Gitlin looks at how the media covered the new left, what the new left did about media treatment, and the consequences of media coverage for the movement. It is a compelling case study, and while there is a tendency to see determinism in the relationship, the argument that the new left was first "made", and then "unmade" by the mass media bears a close look.

The media, argues Gitlin, began by ignoring the new left, then progressively deformed it, influenced its priorities and undermined its structures. This was not the result of any conscious effort on the media part, but rather the consequence of the media "habit" that the movement developed. The movement became dependent on media coverage; what the media said or did not say about it, became a governing factor in its relationship to a large part of the public it was trying to reach. The media image replaced the movement itself in the minds of the people.

As the new left's dependence on media exposure grew, its *modus operandi* was transformed accordingly. The media demanded certified "leaders", so the new left produced them.

The movement's development along non-authoritarian lines was thus stunted, and authoritarian tendencies were enhanced as movement spokesmen (sic) became TV celebrities.

By 1968 the new left had fallen into "organizing with mirrors", substituting the staging of media events for grassroots activity. As long as its deviant political behaviour fit the prevailing definition of "news", the movement could remain on centre stage. But ultimately, it became phantom with respect to its own constituency, and came to exist only as media output.

Gitlin does not pretend that the movement's adventure in the media spotlight was entirely negative. As he points out, the most obvious observation one can make is that some of what the movement wanted to broadcast, about the world and about itself, actually got broadcast. The resulting publicity did have many of the intended effects. Despite all the oversimplification, distortion and even debasement which movement news and objectives suffered, they were diffused, and the effect on the millions who would never have been exposed to them otherwise is incalculable.

On the other side of the ledger, the tragic confusion of media coverage with

actual political power often haunted the new left. The mistaken equation of column inches with the consolidation of a social base, and worst of all, media addiction came to dominate the movement's political activity.

This affliction was not exclusive to SDS or to the American new left. Any one who was involved with opposition politics in the Sixties or Seventies (a time which incidentally coincides with the rise of media as the major source of public information about the world) can surely relate to the dilemma: the constant temptation to place priority on organizing press conferences rather than trying to speak directly to people, the search for the catchy media event, and need to curry media favor. □

*Marc Raboy teaches journalism at Concordia University in Montreal, is a former editor of Our Generation, and is currently contributing editor to Borderlines. In his book, Movements and Messages, he makes a similar analysis of social change movements in Quebec. Movements and Messages is available from Between the Lines Press at 229 College Street, Toronto, Ontario M5T 1R4.*

# *books cont. ....*

review by Samantha Brennan  
National features writer  
Canadian University Press

**I, Vampire** is not your typical lesbian love story.

Strange things begin to happen to Sterling O'Blivion, a dance instructor who's really a 700-year-old vampire from Transylvania, when she falls in love with Virginia Woolf, who's really a Rysemian sea-pig from outer space on a mission to save humanity from our own madness.

**I, Vampire** by Jody Scott, Ace Science Fiction Books, New York, 1984, 296 pages.

The Rysemians have assumed the likeness of dead or fictional characters from North American culture, including Mary Worth, General Patton, and of course Virginia Woolf, to rescue the planet. If they fail, Earth will have to be terminated before our psychosis spreads.

Author Jody Scott uses this rather unusual plot to make a stinging and hilarious critique of modern, North American society. Through the voice of Benaroya (Virginia Woolf's name on Rysemus), Scott diagnoses our sickness and gives clues to a cure.

"A prime test for madness and paranoia is called 'insurance'. If a species has 'insurance' it is patently

doomed. Only a toy-like, salivating pent-up bunch of gruntlings could conceive of such a sociopathic type of gambling," says Benaroya. "Another test is 'forms to fill out'. Any person or organism that asks you to fill out any kind of a 'form' whatsoever is an entrapment specialist of the sneakiest kind and should be avoided or if possible shot."

Another flaw of the Today People, as O'Blivion refers to 20th century humans, is their need to see themselves as living above nature, not in it, and superior to all other species on the planet. The Tysemians chose to enlist O'Blivion in their struggles because as a vampire she is only too aware of her part in the cycle of life, needing six ounces of blood every so often to survive and as someone who's outlived 52 lovers and seven centuries, she's wiser than most.

O'Blivion and Benaroya set out to reach the women of America (who are easier to save than the men, being just a little less messed up) by selling Famous Men's Sperm kits. Door-to-door they flog the sperm of earth's most well-known men, from the Shah of Iran and Billy Graham to Elvis Presley, to bored housewives who want super-children. It's all a guise to talk to the women about their lives, sex and the reasons for their boredom.

For the Rysemians that's at least half

of what's wrong with evil — it's dull. Benaroya and her comrades are also fighting the Sajorans, who are as boring as they are bad and who are stealing humans for the intergalactic slave trade.

What do they do, asks O'Blivion. "Sue each other," giggles Benaroya. "Live like bees or ants in statewide metal cities all crawling with security guards. Make their surroundings as ugly and oppressive as possible, and blame each other for it, as if they couldn't have anything in the galaxy they wanted. Lots of them cling to one body and gloat over its illness. Others get into power positions on planets like Earth and grind down the dominant race saying they are 'helping' or 'doing good' by suppressing people. They're the ultimate groupies, loving strange entertainments and concerts in which 'aliens' are dismembered to music; all that kind of stuff. Evil is boring. Same thing over and over again."

**I, Vampire** is in this way a warning. A call for its readers to wake up, a cry for sanity before it's too late. Scott wants her readers to abandon the bureaucratic state and the Twinkie culture of modern Earth before we end up like the Sajorans. By using humour and sci-fi fantasy as her form, Scott allows **I, Vampire**'s audience to laugh at the hang-ups of the Today People. Freedom and laughter are ours already; we just have to stop obeying and start living.

The Rysemians' answer to the problems of the planet is to do away with all of society's laws, rules and regulations.

Benaroya says the first ten commandments didn't work, so humans passed a billion more which work even less. Scott shows how our rules surrounding morality have oppressed the beautiful O'Blivion first as a vampire and later as a lesbian.

When O'Blivion is fired from her job as manager of a Max Arkoff dance studio because of her disgusting habits, she assumes they've discovered that she is a vampire. Losing jobs and moving to countries with a new identity is nothing new to a vampire whose practices have been hated for hundreds of years. (Except of course in medieval Europe where she was respected, feared and loved.) O'Blivion is shocked when Bubbles, a new dance starlet, informs her she was dismissed for being a dyke.

The novel also turns traditional stereotypes of lesbian sexuality on their head. Scott moves them from the category of annoying to the absurd. While lesbians in the past have been portrayed as unnatural and strange, Scott delights in making her lesbian character the deviant's deviant. O'Blivion is a blood-sucking vampire and Benaroya a bloated sea creature from outer space. They lust after each other madly.

**I, Vampire** is more than a lesbian love story, though it's definitely that, too. It's a wonderful piece of science fiction, fantasy, social commentary and political criticism not written for Today People. And it'll make you think twice about taking out insurance. □

## *record reviews*

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## record reviews

by Lynna Landstreet

### POISONGIRLS, THE PRICE OF GRAIN AND THE PRICE OF BLOOD

This E.P. is an immense improvement on last year's *Songs of Praise*, which was not only far too slick and commercial-sounding for my taste, but also, aside from "I'm Not a Real Woman," was lyrically not nearly as incisive or political as their earlier records. Over the last few years, there has been a lot of debate among Poisongirls fans over whether they have been deliberately toning down their sound and politics in order to reach more people (some might call it 'selling out'), or merely experimenting with different musical styles and exploring personal as well as political issues. This record ought to put an end to this debate, since it is both musically and (especially) lyrically a big change, much more similar to their early stuff.

The title song and "The Girls Over There" sound almost like they could have come from *Chappaquiddick*

complete with violin and hand claps (when they played at the gig here in October, most of the people in the front ended up doing a can-can type dance, arm in arm). It deals with the ill-fated Stonehenge festival last summer, when a number of hippies, punks, Pagans and assorted others attempting to get to Stonehenge for the Summer Solstice was violently attacked by hundreds of police who brutally beat up convoy members and then systematically smashed up the vans that most of them lived in and destroyed all their possessions. The ironic contrast between the cheerful music and angry lyrics effectively expresses both their anger at the state's temporary victory and a determination not to be crushed by it: "This time they went too far / What fools the landed gentry are / Stuff your razor wire down your throat / Wash it down with a five-pound note."

Anyone who has lost faith or interest in Poisongirls over the last few years will find it restored by this E.P., and

macho consciousness is more in evidence than ever: "The Washington Monument pricks the sky / With flags for pubic hair ringer round the bottom;" "Put Rambo back inside your pants;" "Here come the four-wheeled prosthetic penises;" and the entire song "Jock-O-Rama" (subtitled "Invasion of the Beef Patrol"). "Stars and Stripes of Corruption" is probably the longest song the DK's have ever done, about 40 verses, starting with a personal narrative of going to Washington and pissing on the Capitol building, and evolving into a meticulous dissection of American patriotism and detailed programme for social change, recognizing that "we don't destroy society in a day / Until we change ourselves first / From the inside out." (Should be required listening for everyone who hated my "Jerk-off Politics" article.)

Anyway, I don't know what else to say about this record other than that everyone should have one — and I can't wait to see what the next one's like.

the forced relocation of the Big Mountain Navajo and Hopi coming up) are specially good. "Murder in Hollywood" contains what I believe is the band's first-ever anti-macho comment on vinyl — a good start, but they've got a ways to go yet.

The bad news is that the album is incredibly overproduced. A friend of mine says it sounds like Foreigner, and while that may be a bit of an exaggeration, it's definitely way too polished. I suppose they're trying to make up for the old days when all their records sounded like they'd been recorded on a ghetto blaster, but this is going too far. *War ants* and *Don't Turn Your Back* were about right by me.

Speaking of which, I just read an interview with Joey in a fanzine called **One Solution** (which gave us the following one-line review: "**Kick It Over** gets stupider with that anarchy shit every time") in which he said that they'd "never be hassled" over songs like "Let's Fuck" and "Tits on the Beach". (I hadn't heard the latter song

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The title song and "The Girls Over There" sound almost like they could have come from *Chappaquiddick Bridge*, the band's first full-length LP, except for being better-produced and played. "The Girls Over There" is the female equivalent of "White Cream Dream," in which the rich girls get the treatment that the rich boys got earlier. "The Price of Grain" shows up all the recent pop-star relief songs for the shallow, superficial efforts that they were, by getting straight to the point: "They are dumping potatoes and burning grain / And pouring fresh milk down the drain ... And we in the West all know and care / And we all shed our crocodile tears / Playing games while others die / So we can keep our prices high."

"Stonehenge 1985" sounds like a speeded-up Old English folk song,

complete with violin and hand claps (when they played at the gig here in October, most of the people in the front ended up doing a can-can type dance, arm in arm). It deals with the ill-fated Stonehenge festival last summer, when a number of hippies, punks, Pagans and assorted others attempting to get to Stonehenge for the Summer Solstice was violently attacked by hundreds of police who brutally beat up convoy members and then systematically smashed up the vans that most of them lived in and destroyed all their possessions. The ironic contrast between the cheerful music and angry lyrics effectively expresses both their anger at the state's temporary victory and a determination not to be crushed by it: "This time they went too far / What fools the landed gentry are / Stuff your razor wire down your throat / Wash it down with a five-pound note."

Anyone who has lost faith or interest in Poisongirls over the last few years will find it restored by this E.P., and those of us who kept on defending them right through it can now be reassured that we were right.

## DEAD KENNEDYS, FRANKENCHRIST LP

The long-awaited 3rd LP from the DK's has finally surfaced and it was worth waiting for. The music is a bit different from what we've come to expect from them — a bit slower and more melodic, but still full of energy. The lyrics are amazing, more articulate than ever, and deal with everything from pesticide dumping in Third World countries to workers being made redundant by computers to sports and MTV, and more. The band's feminist/anti-

macho consciousness is more in evidence than ever: "The Washington Monument pricks the sky / With flags for pubic hair ringer round the bottom;" "Put Rambo back inside your pants;" "Here come the four-wheeled prosthetic penises;" and the entire song "Jock-O-Rama" (subtitled "Invasion of the Beef Patrol"). "Stars and Stripes of Corruption" is probably the longest song the DK's have ever done, about 40 verses, starting with a personal narrative of going to Washington and pissing on the Capitol building, and evolving into a meticulous dissection of American patriotism and detailed programme for social change, recognizing that "we don't destroy society in a day / Until we change ourselves first / From the inside out." (Should be required listening for everyone who hated my "Jerk-off Politics" article.)

Anyway, I don't know what else to say about this record other than that everyone should have one — and I can't wait to see what the next one's like.

## D.O.A., LET'S WRECK THE PARTY LP

Well, there's good news and bad news.

The good news is that the songs sound great live, and most of the lyrics are really good (with the exception of a couple of songs that sound a bit too much like adolescent-male, frat-boy-style pseudo-rebellion to me — notably "Shout Out" and "Dangerman" and, of course, the title track). "Trial By Media," about the Vancouver Five, "General Strike" and "The Warrior Ain't No More," about the genocide perpetrated by white settlers against the Native people (particularly timely with

the forced relocation of the Big Mountain Navajo and Hopi coming up) are specially good. "Murder in Hollywood" contains what I believe is the band's first-ever anti-macho comment on vinyl — a good start, but they've got a ways to go yet.

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Speaking of which, I just read an interview with Joey in a fanzine called **One Solution** (which gave us the following one-line review: "**Kick It Over** gets stupider with that anarchy shit every time") in which he said that they'd "never be hassled" over songs like "Let's Fuck" and "Tits on the Beach" (I hadn't heard the latter song when I interviewed them, or I would have mentioned it too), that they did these songs because they were "fun to play," and that anyone who had been to California would understand "Tits on the Beach." Do I detect a certain note of inconsistency between this and what I was told when I asked about this matter? True, I talked more to Dave than Joey, but I don't think that accounts for everything. I don't want to sound too harsh here, but it seems like D.O.A. — or some members of it, at least — can't decide whether they want to appeal to macho morons or politically aware people. And they'd better make up their minds fast, because you can't play it both ways for long. □

The following is an abridged version of an article which appeared in the Italian anarchist journal *Volontà*. Apart from politicians' names, most of the references should be relatively easy to understand. One exception is the group 'Workers' Autonomy', one of a number of radical Marxist organizations which outflanked the Communist Party on the left and formed part of the highly influential 'autonomist' movement of the late 70's. Translated by Gianni Corini; edited by Ron Hayley.

by Amedeo Bertolo

There is certainly not much satisfaction to be had for anarchists these days, unless we believe "a sorrow shared is a sorrow halved" or in "we told you so". For example, we can hardly take comfort in the crisis of the extreme left that rightly or wrongly many anarchists were involved with after glorious 1968, where we had a kind of love/hate relationship while still competing with them on the revolutionary market. Or we could be thinking about the failure of the diehard extremists, the Leninists of the armed struggle of either version: the openly militaristic Red Brigade kind (its appeal lying in its blend of theoretical hallucinations and spectacular operative efficiency), or in the more sophisticated (but not less hallucinatory) version of widespread teleguided violence. It is also satisfying to see the self-defined 'super-revolutionary' Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy) fade away, and to witness their supreme pontiff in Parliament; to see him stating on T.V. that "we have never been opposed in principle to sitting in parlia-

is true." Shouldn't you ought to believe it when it's coming from the big boys themselves?

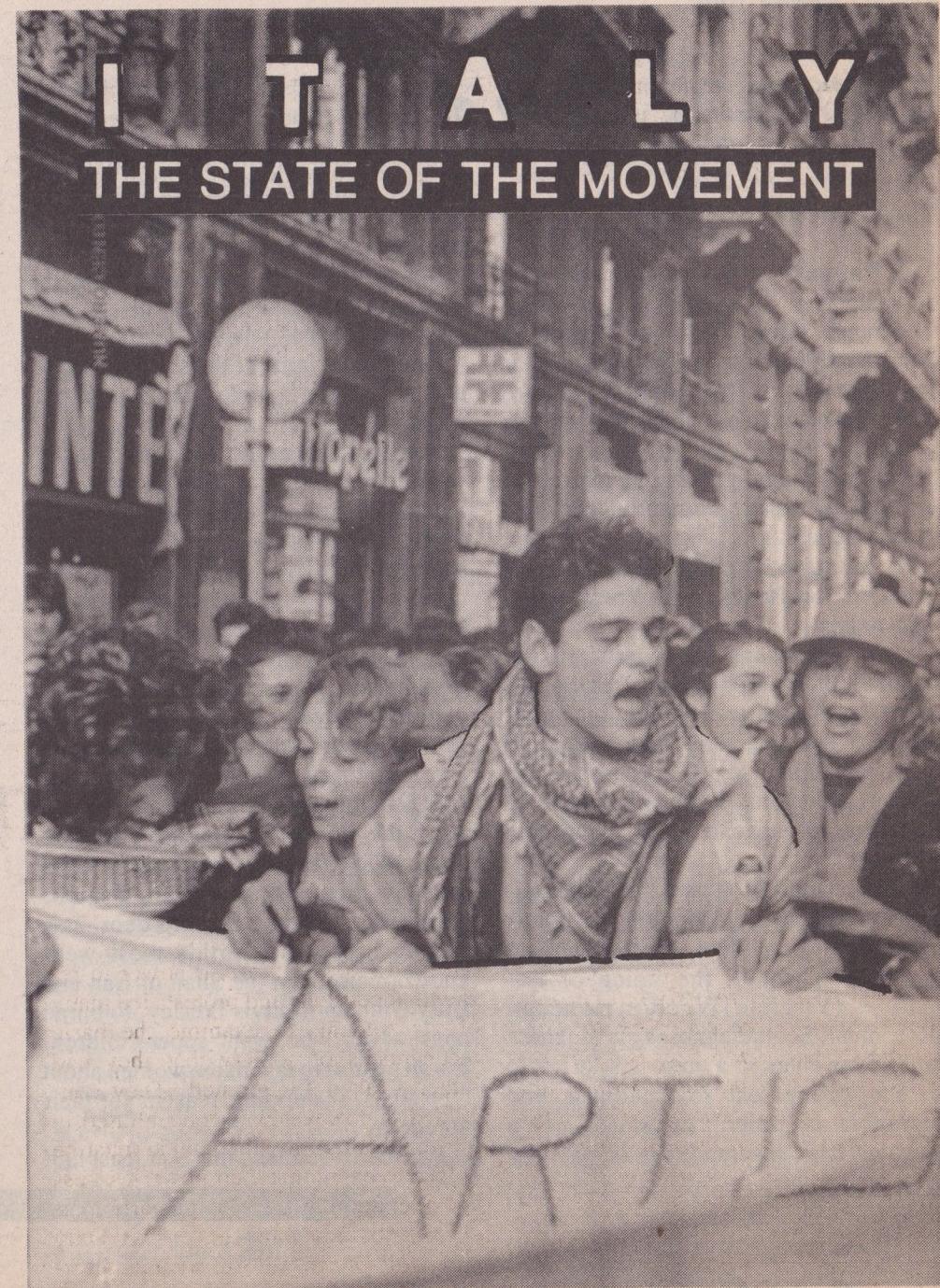
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I'm back in Italy after six months, and I find the 'tribe' to be in bad health. Not that six months ago it was very healthy; far from it, but I had hoped that somehow we'd hit bottom and that, while I was gone, the recovery had started. Wishful thinking, because deep down my skeptical nature was warning me otherwise. But, as when one hopes that by 'sleeping on it' the problem will disappear, I was hopeful that at least the situation would have improved; In fact, the 'tribe' is even worse off than before.

When I talk about the 'tribe', I mean the anarchist movement, or — better yet — those anarchists, militant in various degrees, who, like myself, acknowledge themselves to be part of an ideal community. A community with vaguely defined borders, maybe even undefined ones, but one which is perceived, by those who recognize themselves in it, as a cultural community — almost an ethnic one, and one that makes it impossible for the movement to be reduced to another particular form of political party. For some of us, it is more than that; for others, much more, and, for other still, maybe even something totally different.

\* \* \*

The anarchist movement is in a crisis — a serious one, quantitatively and qualitatively. Our press keeps losing readers, we hardly sell any books, groups are flaking off, contacts are loosening up and becoming either formal or strictly personal. Our centres, the ones still open, are almost always empty



Dino Fracchia

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overtake anarchism as a whole. If we could deceive ourselves up to the fall of the fascism (of the Mussolini regime —

There is certainly not much satisfaction to be had for anarchists these days, unless we believe "a sorrow shared is a sorrow halved" or in "we told you so". For example, we can hardly take comfort in the crisis of the extreme left that rightly or wrongly many anarchists were involved with after glorious 1968, where we had a kind of love/hate relationship while still competing with them on the revolutionary market. Or we could be thinking about the failure of the diehard extremists, the Leninists of the armed struggle of either version: the openly militaristic Red Brigade kind (its appeal lying in its blend of theoretical hallucinations and spectacular operative efficiency), or in the more sophisticated (but not less hallucinatory) version of widespread teleguided violence. It is also satisfying to see the self-defined 'super-revolutionary' Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy) fade away, and to witness their supreme pontiff in Parliament; to see him stating on T.V. that "we have never been opposed in principle to sitting in parliament or to opening and using gaps within the institutions", and saying, moreover, that "we are the only ones able to stop terrorism".

These are times of scarce and meagre satisfaction, and we'd better rejoice whenever we can. Let's warm up our hearts by looking at the encouraging performance of the abstentionist forces in the elections of June of 1983.

The non-voting forces increased by almost 2%. Together with spoiled and blank ballots, the increase reached 2.9% in Parliament and 3.6% at the Senate level, bringing the "third most popular party" (the abstentionists) respectively to over 16 and 17% of the popular vote of the adult population. Not an insignificant feat for a million and a half 'naughty citizens' pressured by a heavy duty anti-abstentionist political campaign from the combined forces of both the left and right, who were trying to make the abstentionists look like 'politicians'

the 'tribe' is even worse off than before. When I talk about the 'tribe', I mean the anarchist movement, or — better yet — those anarchists, militant in various degrees, who, like myself, acknowledge themselves to be part of an ideal community. A community with vaguely defined borders, maybe even undefinable ones, but one which is perceived, by those who recognize themselves in it, as a cultural community — almost an ethnic one, and one that makes it impossible for the movement to be reduced to another particular form of political party. For some of us, it is more than that; for others, much more, and, for other still, maybe even something totally different.

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The anarchist movement is in a crisis — a serious one, quantitatively and qualitatively. Our press keeps losing readers, we hardly sell any books, groups are flaking off, contacts are loosening up and becoming either formal or strictly personal. Our centres, the ones still open, are almost always empty — if not of comrades then of ideas. Outside activities and internal debate are at their lowest level. Comrades are clearing out with hundreds of different individual motivations, which cannot but have an important common element given the current situation. Creativity, imagination, will power and initiative are almost a memory.

It is true that, for a few years, the movement had been creaking, losing polish. But overall it looked like it could make it, as it did under the pressure of 'neo-reformism', which existed side by side with the temptation and disaster of the armed struggle option (*he is referring here to the period of the late 70's — ed.*). Since then, cracks have started to appear. We are now crumbling, and the building is about to collapse. Some of us are moving out, either calmly or with guilt and hesitation. One person said he was going out to get some cigarettes and



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does so, not only will it overcome the crisis, but it will attain a vitality equal, if not superior, to the 'golden years'. Asserting the validity of anarchism as a social and humanistic philosophy is not a pathetic nostalgia for former times, nor an act of faith on the part of militants. I am rationally convinced that anarchism has an inherent strength, a richness and an inexhaustible freshness that the ideological revivals ('neo-Marxism' and neo-liberalism') do not, but which make themselves relevant through the use of libertarian cosmetics — new ideological makeup. The counter-culture of the 60's, the feminism of the 70's, the pacifism of the 80's, the new ecological sensibility, and even socio-musical-folkloristic phenomena like punk, had and still have so many anarchistic elements that they could almost replace the anarchist movement.

If anarchism is not a recurrent phenomenon of cultural necrophilia, it means that it remains a vibrant and healthy force. If it does, it is because

overtake anarchism as a whole. If we could deceive ourselves up to the fall of the fascism (*of the Mussolini regime — ed.*), pointing to repression as the cause of anarchism's decline, the short-lived resumption of activity after the war should have made things clearer.

Instead, in the 70's, we could not do more than to re-propose, in caricature form, that obsolete model of anarchism — a show of political action — which, given those conditions, could not but reduce itself to repeating some more or less sophisticated variation of 'Long Live Anarchy' and 'the only solution is revolution'. The results could not have been any different than what they were: boredom and frustration, and naturally a crisis, sooner or later. But the crisis, although alarming, could turn out to be healthy if it forces us to finally start to see things clearly, with no illusions (it is not difficult), but also with no anxieties (this is more difficult). It could be a great occasion as it will force us, in order to survive, to re-think anarchism deeply.

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There is no doubt as to the significance of this phenomenon when you have the Presidente del Consiglio Bettino Craxi, state: "We are worried about the proportion of the protest, the opposition, and the rejection." Another top brass of the establishment, Minister Rognoni stated: "...the phenomenon is a sign of disaffection and protest." A week later, a commentator for the biggest national newspaper wrote that the 'no' ballots were "premeditated, conscious and even hyper-politicized".

"We don't pay enough attention to the abstension party," wrote Alfredo Pieroni, who went on to say: "We know very well that in countries where democracy is well-entrenched, abstentions are mainly a show of faith in the political establishment — so much so that the voter can take a vacation. With us it's different. Everyone knows the opposite

— if not of comrades then of ideas. Outside activities and internal debate are at their lowest level. Comrades are clearing out with hundreds of different individual motivations, which cannot but have an important common element given the current situation. Creativity, imagination, will power and initiative are almost a memory.

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To overcome this crisis, anarchism has to transform itself *profoundly*; if it

sets the validity of anarchism as a social and humanistic philosophy is not a pathetic nostalgia for former times, nor an act of faith on the part of militants. I am rationally convinced that anarchism has an inherent strength, a richness and an inexhaustible freshness that the ideological revivals ('neo-Marxism' and neo-liberalism') do not, but which make themselves relevant through the use of libertarian cosmetics — new ideological makeup. The counter-culture of the 60's, the feminism of the 70's, the pacifism of the 80's, the new ecological sensibility, and even socio-musical-folkloristic phenomena like punk, had and still have so many anarchistic elements that they could almost replace the anarchist movement.

If anarchism is not a recurrent phenomenon of cultural necrophilia, it means that it remains a vibrant and healthy force for change. If '68 brought anarchism to world-wide renewal, it's because it was, to a large extent, a *cultural* rebellion with libertarian implications. And if that renewal was short-winded and proved, at least in Europe, ephemeral, it is because it was channelled into dogmatic forms and sterile practices — inevitably sterile, because re-proposing an obsolete anarchism.

What anarchism? The one formed as a result of the superimposition of a philosophy of freedom and equality onto a social context which was 'objectively revolutionary'. It was from this superimposition that anarchism developed as a libertarian variant of revolutionary socialism (*under exceedingly favourable circumstances — circumstances not destined to be repeated — ed.*). Already in the general crisis of the 20's and 30's, anarchosyndicalism was signalling the crisis which was to

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Instead, in the 70's, we could not do more than to re-propose, in caricature form, that obsolete model of anarchism — a show of political action — which, given those conditions, could not but reduce itself to repeating some more or less sophisticated variation of 'Long Live Anarchy' and 'the only solution is revolution'. The results could not have been any different than what they were: boredom and frustration, and naturally a crisis, sooner or later. But the crisis, although alarming, could turn out to be healthy if it forces us to finally start to see things clearly, with no illusions (it is not difficult), but also with no anxieties (this is more difficult). It could be a great occasion as it will force us, in order to survive, to re-think anarchism deeply.

Eighteenth century anarchism survived, with some adjustments until today but, in reality, it hasn't been functioning for half a century. It survives with recurrent ups and downs, but within an overall downward spiral. Anarchism handed down to us a blend of dated elements (above all, strategic, but not only) and still up-to-date elements which, because they were still universally valid, were little by little, and inconspicuously, taken away from us by both the left and the right. The movement is so impoverished in its display that it cannot express itself in any other form than political anarchism, where paradoxically it can offer no alternative to the improbable proletarian revolution of the Marxists or the slippery avenue of 'democracy', served up by the bourgeoisie. It seems that there is only room for the spoken word, not for ac-

tion. A deadlock is the inevitable result. To emerge from the impasse, we have to invent a different kind of anarchism, in which we will preserve the 'hard core' of the old (but, exactly, what is it? let's talk about it) — because without this core, there is no anarchism, old or new. Let's then dress the core with a pulp of flexible thought and action, adaptable ones which can be experimented with and discussed, free from demagogic. Let's then create an iridescent and diverse anarchism, with which the poet as well the militant can identify; in which to encompass the struggle as well as life; in which everything would be a reflection of individual as well as collective behaviour, moving on a libertarian path and being reflected in it. An anarchism well understood as a great transformation of the social uni-

verse, one which rejects domination in all its forms, and in all the aspects of culture which have been tainted by it in the last thousand years — from sexual relations to political institutions; from language to technology; from the economy to the family; from emotions to rationality.

This kind of anarchism would not experience a crisis. It would ride the crisis. The conversion of thirty and forty year-olds, deceived by politics but uncomfortable with society, could then begin. Anarchism could tap into the identity crisis of the younger ones (10% of polled young people do not recognize themselves in any existing political philosophy or group, but stated that society should be radically transformed); the crisis of impotence felt by angry blue-collar workers; unhappy

housewives, desperate teenagers, the 'misfit', the unemployed; the crisis of boredom ... you name it. Anarchism as a great cultural transformation.

It is obvious that a cultural mutation of such dimensions requires long-term planning. But we can start now in forms and rhythms that the surrounding reality, and our will, make possible. Without waiting for 'the revolution' (and yet not necessarily renouncing it either), and with no despair if we do not see it coming tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

*The revolution can longer be either a myth or an alibi. The 'Great Transformation' has to begin here, NOW. □*

## MINDING THE GENERATION GAP

by Gary Moffatt

*Although a great deal has been said about sexism in the social change movement during recent years, the corresponding problem of ageism has received much less attention than it deserves. It is all too common to see some social change movements composed entirely of people in their teens or early twenties, and others of people in their late twenties or older. To a degree, this is a reflection of a general social climate in which people have learned to be more at ease in groups of their own age peers than in groups of people of other ages.*

but the failure of those in power to respond to petitions and protests led many of the students to examine the basic mechanisms of society that they had hitherto taken for granted. They concluded that power was concentrated in too few hands, that the people must be helped to overcome their powerlessness and alienation by developing participatory democracy and consensus. Only then could social reform such as disarmament and equal rights become possible. A program for basic social change

(including training for rural and urban trainees) to the urban poor and middle-class drop-outs.

The progress of this movement is best documented in Holland, where the first stage in the mid-sixties was the Provo movement, described by Provo non-leader Roel van Duyn as an "anarchist underground movement ... [which] provoked the enemy to show his real face. We made all kinds of 'happenings' against authoritarian capitalist society." Every Saturday night, he continues, people would come from the villages to watch the Anarchy. Provo

were created, weekly public meetings were held at which these departments' work was discussed and criticized, and elderly people offered such help as cleaning, shopping and being read to. Encouraged by the Housing Department, over a thousand families were by 1970 living in squatted houses. The Agriculture department was running about fifteen pesticide-free farms whose produce was sold cheaply in the city; the process created public awareness of food problems. Said Van Duyn: "Our



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The purpose of this article is to briefly trace the impact of youth on the social change movement and suggest some future directions. In their article "Youth as Class" (**Our Generation** vol. 6 #1-2, 1968) the Rowntrees cite numerous statistics to show that since 1945 youth has replaced unionized workers as the main target of capitalist exploitation — being held in school or the army by unemployment rates two to five times the average, youth is forced to absorb the economy's inability to generate sufficient employment. Youth has attempted to respond to this situation by de-

but the failure of those in power to respond to petitions and protests led many of the students to examine the basic mechanisms of society that they had hitherto taken for granted. They concluded that power was concentrated in too few hands, that the people must be helped to overcome their powerlessness and alienation by developing participatory democracy and consensus. Only then could social reform such as disarmament and equal rights become possible. A program for basic social change was spelled out in the Port Huron Manifesto of 1962, which formed the basis of Students for a Democratic Society in the U.S.A. and the Student Union for Peace Action in Canada.

These groups instituted a wide variety of projects which attempted to contact and work with various dispossessed segments of society, in the hope that they would learn participatory democracy in the process of attaining immediate goals. But this turned out to be a more difficult task than had been anticipated; the urban poor distrusted intellectuals who always retained the option of returning to their own world should the joint endeavours fail, and those who went to Indian or Doukhobor communities found most of the young people there eager to break away to the city and embrace the values that the students had discarded. The students had learned the need for basic social change, but they hadn't learned the long-term perspective that enables people to work towards goals which may not be realized in their own lifetimes. As the Vietnam war dragged on and social reforms ground to a halt, most of the students

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The progress of this movement is best documented in Holland, where the first stage in the mid-sixties was the Provo movement, described by Provo non-leader Roel van Duyn as an "anarchist underground movement ... [which] provoked the enemy to show his real face. We made all kinds of 'happenings' against authoritarian capitalist society." Every Saturday night, he continues, people would come from the villages to watch the Amsterdam Provos fighting the Amsterdam police beneath a certain statue, "a kind of national theatre." When the Provo leaders got tired of these weekly confrontations "the people still came, so they became the participants. In general, we provoked them with little practical jokes, and they showed their real face. The mentality of the people toward the authorities changed; they weren't ready to just follow what they said."

The Provo movement was a confused one, with many diverse aims; the greatest rift was between those who had hoped to be able to work for change within the system and those who believed in the provocation of the authorities for its own sake. The latter faction had no real blueprint for social change since the Dutch workers were clearly too conservative to seize and decentralize the means of production, so the faction which believed in working within the system to win electoral power became dominant. The Provo movement died in 1967; two years later the Kabouter movement was born, and in 1970 Amsterdam municipal elections

were created, weekly public meetings were held at which these departments' work was discussed and criticized, and elderly people offered such help as cleaning, shopping and being read to. Encouraged by the Housing Department, over a thousand families were by 1970 living in squatted houses. The Agriculture department was running about fifteen pesticide-free farms whose produce was sold cheaply in the city; the process created public awareness of food problems. Said Van Duyn: "Our main policy is being servants of the people, and this tactic is irreversible. If you serve the people in the right way nobody can be against you, only idiotic authorities." (Interview printed in *L.A. Free Press* circa 1970-1.)

By 1980 the squatters' or "kraakers" movement had become the best organized autonomous movement in Amsterdam, with ten thousand squatters fighting off police and landlords' goon squads, and the whole movement undertaking to move those who had been evicted to other dwellings with a "collective of carrier cycles" (report in *Open Road* #11). Since the squatters include a large number of families and older people, the ageist gap has evidently been breached in Amsterdam. Other cities have not been so fortunate; in Zurich, for instance, confrontations between youth groups and police led to bulldozing of a youth centre and over 1,000 arrests and trials which destroyed the youth groups' energy (*Open Road* #14). On the one hand in western Europe there are youth groups, devoid of any prospects for employment and escape from poverty, adopting a nihilistic attitude to life, and on the other

experience with the patriarchal family or hierarchical gerontocracies in the workplace. This has been compounded by each generation since the fifties (with appropriate encouragement from Madison Avenue) developing very distinctive tastes in dress, appearance, music and so forth. When activists fail to understand one another's culture, they fear that the general public they are trying to influence will understand it even less and therefore resent its manifestations.

The purpose of this article is to briefly trace the impact of youth on the social change movement and suggest some future directions. In their article "Youth as Class" (**Our Generation** vol. 6 #1-2, 1968) the Rowntrees cite numerous statistics to show that since 1945 youth has replaced unionized workers as the main target of capitalist exploitation — being held in school or the army by unemployment rates two to five times the average, youth is forced to absorb the economy's inability to generate sufficient employment. Youth has attempted to respond to this situation by developing its own culture and politics with only partial success; the politics have failed to produce either social change or a cohesive youth movement, and the culture has been so often co-opted that punk rock in many ways represents an attempt to create a culture so bizarre that it won't be considered worth co-opting.

In the early 1960s, youth became for the first time the spearhead of the social change movement, whose previous leaders had been bought off (the trade union leadership) or intimidated into silence during the McCarthy era (the artists and intellectuals). The first phase occurred at the universities. Initially campus antiwar and black civil rights movements were an imitation of the liberal, respectably-led citizens' groups,

of Students for a Democratic Society in the U.S.A. and the Student Union for Peace Action in Canada.

These groups instituted a wide variety of projects which attempted to contact and work with various dispossessed segments of society, in the hope that they would learn participatory democracy in the process of attaining immediate goals. But this turned out to be a more difficult task than had been anticipated; the urban poor distrusted intellectuals who always retained the option of returning to their own world should the joint endeavours fail, and those who went to Indian or Doukhobor communities found most of the young people there eager to break away to the city and embrace the values that the students had discarded. The students had learned the need for basic social change, but they hadn't learned the long-term perspective that enables people to work towards goals which may not be realized in their own lifetimes. As the Vietnam war dragged on and social reforms ground to a halt, most of the students became discouraged and either opted back into the system or adopted the rhetoric of violent revolution (some did both). SUPA folded in 1967 after lasting only three years, and SDS took on a militant Marxist structure.

In Europe there was also a mood of despair on the campuses following the near success and then collapse of the Paris uprising in spring of 1968. But other groups of young people, moved partly by their own economic plight and partly by a perception that power was slipping into the hands of an oligarchy, continued to take an active role. By 1970, leadership of the young activists in both America and Europe had passed from the university students (who, encouraged by worsening times, had resumed their traditional role as mana-

theatre." When the Provo leaders got tired of these weekly confrontations "the people still came, so they became the participants. In general, we provoked them with little practical jokes, and they showed their real face. The mentality of the people toward the authorities changed; they weren't ready to just follow what they said."

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In North America the youth movement is achieving little beyond protest. What happened in Ottawa is a case in point. In 1982, a coalition of all peace groups was formed and functioned fairly smoothly for about a year. In 1983, however, young people in the punk movement were asked to remain inconspicuous during a joint peace walk

through the streets, and consequently they decided to concentrate their efforts on building a youth movement. This movement flourished for about two years, holding several demonstrations, publishing a good tabloid called **Scream** and discussing a number of more ambitious projects. Recent reports from Ottawa indicate that most of this movement has collapsed; several of the most energetic members left town and the remainder lacked the perspective of long-term social change work to sustain it through short-term disappointments. Nor has the coalition they lost interest in been very active, since it has lost the energy which might have led it to broaden its actions and basis of consensus. In Toronto the youth groups have showed considerable interest in attempting to start a squatters' movement, without asking whether conditions dif-

fer enough from those in western Europe to make squatting less practical or whether this is really the best lifestyle we can create for those whom the System regards as superfluous.

Youth is a class with class interests and problems of its own, and therefore requires its own organizations as do women, ethnic groups and other distinct classes. None of these groups will be very effective unless they learn to participate in radical coalitions dedicated to basic social change, and to delegate to these coalitions all actions which are not best done exclusively by one class. We must combine the energy and idealism of youth with the perspective and experience of those older people who have remained in the movement to secure the patience and imagination needed to create an alternative society. □

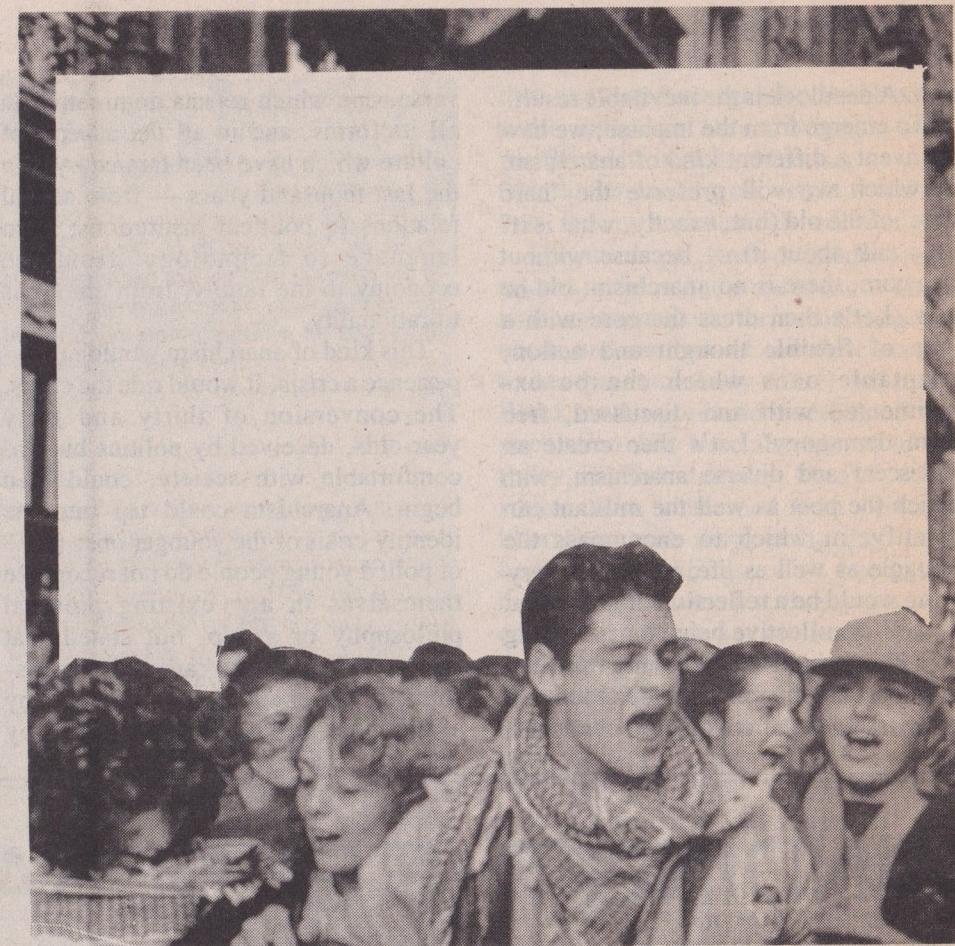
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Goodbye to the "straight" male-dominated Left: to PL who will allow that some workers are women, but won't see all women (say, housewives) as workers (just like the System itself); to all the old Leftover parties who offer their "Women's Liberation caucuses" to us as if that were not a contradiction in terms; to the individual anti-leadership leaders who hand-pick certain women to be leaders and then relate only to them, either in the male Left or in Women's Liberation — bringing their hang-ups about power-dominance and manipulation to everything they touch.

Goodbye the WeatherVain, with the Stanley Kowalski image and theory of free sexuality but practice of sex on demand for males. "Left Out!" — not Right On — to the Weather Sisters, who, and they know better — they know, reject their own radical feminism for that last desperate grab at male

approval that we all know so well, for claiming that the machismo style and the gratuitous violence is their own style by "free choice" and for believing that this is the way for a woman to make her revolution ... all the while, oh my sister, not meeting my eyes because WeatherMen chose Manson as their — and Your — Hero. (Honest, at least ... since Manson is only the logical extreme of the normal American male's fantasy [whether he is Dick Nixon or Mark Rudd]: master of a harem, women to do all the shitwork, from raising babies and cooking and hustling to killing people on order.)

Goodbye to all that shit that sets women apart from women: shit that covers the face of any Weatherwoman which is the face of any Manson Slave which is the face of Sharon Tate which is the face of Mary Jo Kopechne which is the face of Beulah Saunders which is the face of me which is the face of Pat Nixon which is the face of Pat Swinton. IN THE DARK WE ARE ALL THE SAME —



and you better believe it: we're in the dark, baby. (Remember the old joke: Know what they call a black man with a Ph.D.? A nigger. Variation: Know what they call a Weatherwoman? A heavy cunt. Know what they call a Hip Revolutionary Woman? A groovy cunt. Know what they call a radical militant feminist? A crazy cunt.) America is a land of free choice — take your pick of titles. Left Out, my sister — don't you see? Goodbye to the illusion of strength when you run hand in hand with your oppressors? Goodbye to the dream that being in the leadership collective will get you anything but gonorrhea.<sup>10</sup>

— Robin Morgan  
*(The Underground Reader,*

#### FOOTNOTES

1. **Long Way Back Home** by Myrna Kostash, James Lorimer & Co., Toronto, 1983.
2. "Statement" by Pun Plamondon, **The Underground Reader**, New American Library, New York, 1972, pp. 142-143.
3. "Notes On A Decade Ready for the Dustbin" by Carl Oglesby, *ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
4. See **Personal Politics** by Sara Evans, Vintage Books, New York, 1980.
5. The "Redstockings Manifesto", contained in **The Underground Reader**, was and remains a cogent statement of the radical feminist position.
6. "Notes On A Decade Ready for the Dustbin" by Carl Oglesby, *ibid.*, p. 184. This article, written in 1970, offers an extremely useful

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Books, 1200 W. Fullerton, Box 102, Chicago, Illinois 60614. The letter has been edited for length.

.... As for the letter from Ron Hayley, I can relate to your concerns about Marxist-type rhetoric. When I first saw the invitation from the Chicago people, I thought, "uh-oh". I imagined a bunch of university students with their highly intellectual anarchy club. I was wrong. These are really good people who are looking forward to the days 'after the revolution' as much as I am. The reason why there seems to be a large emphasis on history was confusing to me, but now has been clarified. **The Haymarket Tragedy** by Paul Avrich is an amazing book that I'm reading right now. It's really expensive, so try to find it in the library. The people like Albert Parsons in the 1870's and 80's were talking about a lot of the same things as us, especially the violence/non-violence issue. Some people felt that a violent revolution attacking the state, its property (sabotage) and its agents was the only way to go, and there were 'armies' of anarchists with guns guarding meetings and demonstrations because they refused to be



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5. The "Redstockings Manifesto", contained in **The Underground Reader**, was and remains a cogent statement of the radical feminist position.
6. "Notes On A Decade Ready for the Dustbin" by Carl Oglesby, *ibid.*, p. 184. This article, written in 1970, offers an extremely useful perspective on the 60's. Oglesby was no Marxist-Leninist — he was merely stating what, at that time, was a fact.

7. Quoted in **Marx, Freud and the Critique of Everyday Life** by Bruce Brown, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1973, p. 30. This book is a very useful introduction to the critique of traditional leftism.

8. Sinclair probably has too high an opinion of the revolutionary potential of music, but one thing which can be said of 60's music is that it spoke to the whole personality — the emotions, the senses, the imagination, the intellect. Implicitly, it affirmed the ideal of a rounded personality — the funky bass lines and earthy drum beats represented the body, wailing guitars represented emotions, the cool piano or organ lines the more cerebral faculties. The earthiness of 60's music was due in large measure to the influence of Black rhythm and blues, soul, jazz, and blues and gospel. By contrast, today's all synthesized music represents the anemic subjectivity of '80's man' who, as the rock video aesthetic indicates, lives entirely in his head. It makes sense to pay attention to what's happening on the musical front — it foretells the future that the rich and powerful wish us to inhabit. "I have seen the future", and it's very scary.

9. Drugs — particularly pot and the hallucinogens — did, for a brief time, play an important role in challenging the liberal

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viduals working towards a shared goal and taking on a shared responsibility is of value in achieving a world without hierarchical, institutionalized authority. I just object to the belief that what we are doing is beyond what the state will step in and control. Whether we are meeting in state-funded centres like 519 Church, going to state funded alternative schools, accepting a state cheque or claiming union dues as a tax deduction on one's income tax form, we are accepting a loss of control over our own lives. As we work towards a world where children do have a future, let us not forget that everything we are attempting is copable.

I am constantly pondering when I am going to either cease the work towards change involved in the various alternative efforts and movements I am involved in or move to the taking up of more direct forms of action. Non-institutionalized forms of goods distributed (looting) was used very well in Brixton and Detroit. Is my objection to taking such risks one of principle, one of tactics or one of cowardness or is it just a

a May Day event too. They're calling themselves the "Haymarket Centennial Committee". There was a monument dedicated to the brave police of Haymarket in 1886. In the 1920's, a streetcar driver ran over it by jumping the tracks because he was sick of looking at that policeman with his arm raised. It was blown up twice by the Weather Underground in 1969 and 1970, and now it's been removed to a police station. The "Haymarket Centennial Committee" plans a 'commemoration' involving politicians, preachers, and business union bureaucrats, and a government dedication to the Haymarket martyrs of a park and monument and a week or month to labour history. They want a "Law Day" to be held in schools, etc.

I think we have enough experience ourselves with liberals that we can relate to the crap that's going on here — an attempt to whitewash the revolutionary tendencies of the people murdered here in 1886. A Chicago anarchist gathering would give us the opportunity to let people know what

taking on a shared responsibility is of value in achieving a world without hierarchical, institutionalized authority. I just object to the belief that what we are doing is beyond what the state will step in and control. Whether we are meeting in state-funded centres like 519 Church, going to state funded alternative schools, accepting a state cheque or claiming union dues as a tax deduction on one's income tax form, we are accepting a loss of control over our own lives. As we work towards a world where children do have a future, let us not forget that everything we are attempting is co-optable.

I am constantly pondering when I am going to either cease the work towards change involved in the various alternative efforts and movements I am involved in or move to the taking up of more direct forms of action. Non-institutionalized forms of goods distributed (looting) was used very well in Brixton and Detroit. Is my objection to taking such risks one of principle, one of tactics or one of cowardness or is it just a lack of opportunity? When considering ways of social transformation, we can also look to the examples of Sandino, Malatesta and Bakunin just as much as Kropotkin, Day and Bookchin.

Let us continue the debate and the work being done in various gatherings of the anti-authoritarians about how to achieve our goals. perhaps we will come up with a model that allows my concern for individual autonomy to be met, the practical work to get done and for a community to develop. Perhaps my experience that only one out of three is likely to occur is merely due to by distaste for compromise and not merely due to the likelihood of state co-optation.

Brian Birch  
Toronto, Ontario

#### HAYMARKET LETTER.....

*The following is a letter from an ex-Kick It Over collective member concerning the Haymarket celebration scheduled to take place in Chicago in May of this year. For more information, write to: Impossible*

....As for the letter from Ron Hayley, I can relate to your concerns about Marxist-type rhetoric. When I first saw the invitation from the Chicago people, I thought, "uh-oh". I imagined a bunch of university students with their highly intellectual anarchy club. I was wrong. These are really good people who are looking forward to the days 'after the revolution' as much as I am. The reason why there seems to be a large emphasis on history was confusing to me, but now has been clarified. **The Haymarket Tragedy** by Paul Avrich is an amazing book that I'm reading right now. It's really expensive, so try to find it in the library. The people like Albert Parsons in the 1870's and 80's were talking about a lot of the same things as us, especially the violence/non-violence issue. Some people felt that a violent revolution attacking the state, its property (sabotage) and its agents was the only way to go, and there were 'armies' of anarchists with guns guarding meetings and demonstrations because they refused to be mowed down by the cops or army without defending themselves. Lots had been killed in strikes earlier. Others like Albert Parsons were non-violent and continued working at consciousness-raising and rabble-rousing without weapons until almost the very end (of his life) after the people were brutalized again. If we tried to establish our peaceful, harmonious, co-operative and loving lifestyles, as they grow larger and more people join us, the power that the 'leaders' have will decrease, and they will feel threatened and will attack us. We have much we can learn from anarchists who have had more popular movements than we do (Haymarket had thousands of people involved) and who have dealt with the state with much greater chances of effectiveness than we can ever dream of at this point. This history also shows the birth of socialism in North America, and the splitting between communists and anarchists and why. It also shows the reaction of the social democrats and liberals of the time to 'revolutionary anti-authoritarian' movements. It's the same today. The bullshit artists are planning

a May Day event too. They're calling themselves the "Haymarket Centennial Committee". There was a monument dedicated to the brave police of Haymarket in 1886. In the 1920's, a streetcar driver ran over it by jumping the tracks because he was sick of looking at that policeman with his arm raised. It was blown up twice by the Weather Underground in 1969 and 1970, and now it's been removed to a police station. The "Haymarket Centennial Committee" plans a 'commemoration' involving politicians, preachers, and business union bureaucrats, and a government dedication to the Haymarket martyrs of a park and monument and a week or month to labour history. They want a "Law Day" to be held in schools, etc.

I think we have enough experience ourselves with liberals that we can relate to the crap that's going on here — an attempt to whitewash the revolutionary tendencies of the people murdered here in 1886. A Chicago anarchist gathering would give us the opportunity to let people know what really happened, and to challenge the liberal attempt to suck-in the minds of the people.

That's the history. Also, this will be a great opportunity to get together with anarchists from all over the place. I met people from various places here (about 30 people) and, when we talked about workshops for May, I was impressed by the lack of bullshit. Instead of spending hours discussing sexism, or homophobia, or abortion or porn, we can combine all that into a workshop on human relations. We don't need to talk about the same things over and over every time we get together. A workshop on violence/non-violence was thought of as important. Politics of food, including the economics of cash crops and animal liberation were other suggested topics. As anarchists, if we really are anti-authoritarians, there are a lot of things we can come to quick agreement on and get on to discussing what to do next. I think it's important to realize that the people hung here in 1886 weren't doing a lot more than a lot of us. Publishing and writing and organizing gatherings (like the one in May

7. Quoted in **Marx, Freud and the Critique of Everyday Life** by Bruce Brown, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1973, p. 30. This book is a very useful introduction to the critique of traditional leftism.

8. Sinclair probably has too high an opinion of the revolutionary potential of music, but one thing which can be said of 60's music is that it spoke to the whole personality — the emotions, the senses, the imagination, the intellect. Implicitly, it affirmed the ideal of a rounded personality — the funky bass lines and earthy drum beats represented the body, wailing guitars represented emotions, the cool piano or organ lines the more cerebral faculties. The earthiness of 60's music was due in large measure to the influence of Black rhythm and blues, soul, jazz, and blues and gospel. By contrast, today's all synthesized music represents the anemic subjectivity of "80's man" who, as the rock video aesthetic indicates, lives entirely in his head. It makes sense to pay attention to what's happening on the musical front — it foretells the future that the rich and powerful wish us to inhabit. "I have seen the future", and it's very scary.

9. Drugs — particularly pot and the hallucinogens — did, for a brief time, play an important role in eroding "straight" consciousness, but in the 70's these same drugs cooled people out the same way beer and barbiturates do.

10. Most of these quotes are from the **The Underground Reader**. I got mine second-hand so it may be out of print. Check at a university library. Though written by a liberal, **The Movement** by Irwin Unger (Dodd & Mead, New York, 1974) is a good introduction. I got mine remaindered, so it may be out of print too. □

here) and demonstrations, and looking forward to the revolution. A lot of people have gone through a period of learning over the last while (me included) and I'm sure those who have already figured out what anarchism means were impatient for people like me to learn faster. I hope the May Day gathering will put us past the point of only discussing and intellectualizing, and into some sort of action....

Kenn Quayle  
Chicago, Illinois

## Fascist Bastards

Dear KIO

The Citizens for Media Responsibility Without Law, so prominently displayed in issue no. 14, are a bunch of censorial, fascist bastards. I won't take issue with their specific lies and half-truths about porn, as this has already been done to death, but rather use examples from their ad itself to demonstrate that their idiotic ideas are the very antithesis of anarchism.

CMRWL claims to be anti-censorship but wants porn "displayed, discussed and rejected as bigotry". And what if it isn't rejected as bigotry? Are they going to forcibly reject it for us? Note that they don't even say "and see if it should be rejected", but adamantly demand that it is "**REJECTED**", period. If they're so sure of their conclusion, why bother to display and discuss it in the first place?

These "anarchists" (and I'm assuming that's what they're masquerading as) also propose a "citizens mandate against violent pornography". Violence in this case cannot be satisfactorily defined. Example: S&M is violent but overwhelmingly indulged in by consenting adults. Should it be "rejected"? And what's this shit about a "**CITIZENS MANDATE**"? I'll tell you what it is — good old democratic mob rule in action.

CMRWL also states that they want "real representation (legal economic, and social)". That's some bunch of anarchists that want "**LEGAL**" "**REPRESENTATION**". They also want to "break laws in the same spirit which founded this nation". Since when is the "spirit" which founded a "**NATION**" considered desirable by anarchists?

When are anti-porn anarchists going to comprehend the basic fact that we have no right to condemn any activity indulged in by consenting adults? When are they going to realize that abolishing something because of the harm it might possibly cause (or even definitely cause in a few cases) is irrational, illogical and could conceivably lead to a ban on everything? When are they going to set aside their prejudices and preconceived notions and grant that terms like objectifica-

Since Ron Hayley suggested we print the "Sex Is Not Obscene" back cover, we are giving him a chance to respond:

*As the instigator of the "Sex Is Not Obscene" back cover, I feel I must offer a comment or two.*

*Why do you assume that everything we print is "anarchist"? In #11, we stated quite clearly that "we are not a mouthpiece for the ... anarchist movement". We are interested in printing points of view which have value, regardless of whether they bear the anarchist stamp of approval. Unlike certain "censorial, fascist bastards", we don't feel we have to agree with something 100% in order to print it. In fact, if people associate anarchism with the kind of knee-jerk spleen-venting evidenced in your letter, then anarchism is in for a rough time.*

*Citizens for Media Responsibility Without Law, whatever their failings, have distinguished themselves by their commitment to direct action, not censorship; by their use of humour and parody, not self-righteousness ranting, and by their open commitment to sex and nudity. This makes them somewhat unique in the anti-pornography movement and worthy of praise.*

*As for the legitimacy of using direct action against pictures depicting the rape and mutilation of women (Asian women hanging from trees, as in Penthouse), I am always stunned by the hypocrisy of those who would countenance 'class struggle', or the Nazibashing of their 'autonomist' idols over in Europe, and yet tell women to put up and shut up. Do you think it's possible for the*

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8 The Economics Of Toronto's Culture by Leon Davis

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## PYGMY LETTER .....

Dear KIO:

In response to Nicole's letter in the fall issue, I think that if after reading Turnbull's work she knows nothing about pygmies, she should give Turnbull a closer reading. Without going back to *The Forest People* I can recall that the group Turnbull describes are net hunters (rather than bow or spear hunters) so that their hunting is a communal rather than individual activity which involves the work of women as much as men. So for these folks hunting is not a "women-thing" any less than a "men-thing". Turnbull also describes in some detail the girl's puberty ritual which focusses on first menstruation, and discusses in general relations between the sexes. Not having read the book for a long time I couldn't say whether there are aspects of it which would be unsatisfactory from some feminist perspectives. But women and women's activities are not left out of the book.

Other works by Turnbull on the Mbuti which might be of interest are: "Mbuti Womanhood" in Dahlberg's *Woman the Gatherer*, "The Politics of Non-Aggression" (dealing with pregnancy, childbirth and child rearing), in Montagu's *Learning Non-Aggression*.

Turnbull's *The Wayward Servants* (a long ethnographic monograph), and Turnbull's *The Mbuti Pygmies, Change and Adaptation* (an update based on field work from 1970 to 1973).

A book of more general interest is Harold Barclay's *People Without Government, An Anthropology of Anarchism*.

Alec Leonhardt  
Princeton, New Jersey

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Dear KIO:

Two issues I'd like to address — animal rights and Dan Todd's letter in KIO #14. I agree with Sam Wagar in part. I see nothing wrong in killing to eat if you try to avoid it as much as possible. Most of us were raised meat-eaters, and it is very difficult to break out of this habit. We do have a natural right to kill animals, but this is a right we should try

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The people associated with CMRWL are, at best, confused, misguided, and possessed of some ass-backward priorities; at worst, they could be stooges of the state attempting to sow dissension among radicals. In any case, they should be exposed for the fascist authoritarians they are, and then totally ignored.

Sincerely,  
Al Medwin  
Farmingdale, N.J.

#### — CORRECTION —

The article "The True Story of Sandino" in **Kick It Over** (Winter 1985/86) states that Sandino had been a member of "the anarcho-syndicalist Mexican CROM" (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana). This was based on the recollections of Carlton Beals in **Great Guerrilla Warriors** (1970) more than 40 years after he had interviewed Sandino.

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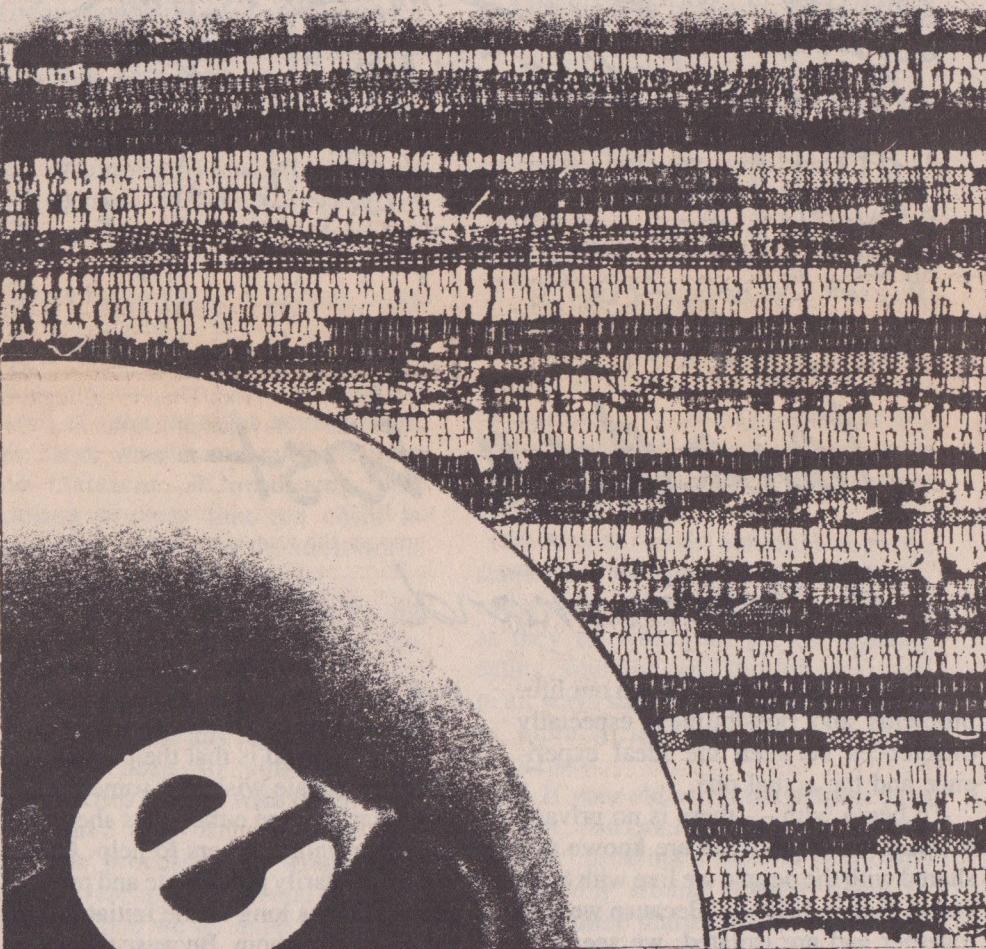
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workers to seize the means of production without violating the rights of the capitalists? For Jews to protect themselves against genocide without transgressing against fascists? It is simply not possible to redress an imbalance of power (which is supposedly what anarchists are concerned about) without interfering (to some degree) with the rights of the oppressors.

#### Politics and spirituality Anarchism and feminism 60's and the 80's....



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Dan Todd calls me "ignorant" and "unfamiliar with radical history". How does Dan explain the pattern of revolution which occurred in Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and so on, if not as a result of the most centralized, authoritarian, and ruthless popular faction coming to power? And liquidating all opposition in the process, sometimes to the extent of physical liquidation? What does he mean by "Moments when political groups have been deprived of the force behind their points of view are not so rare as you suppose, however"?

Ed  
Lawrence, Kansas

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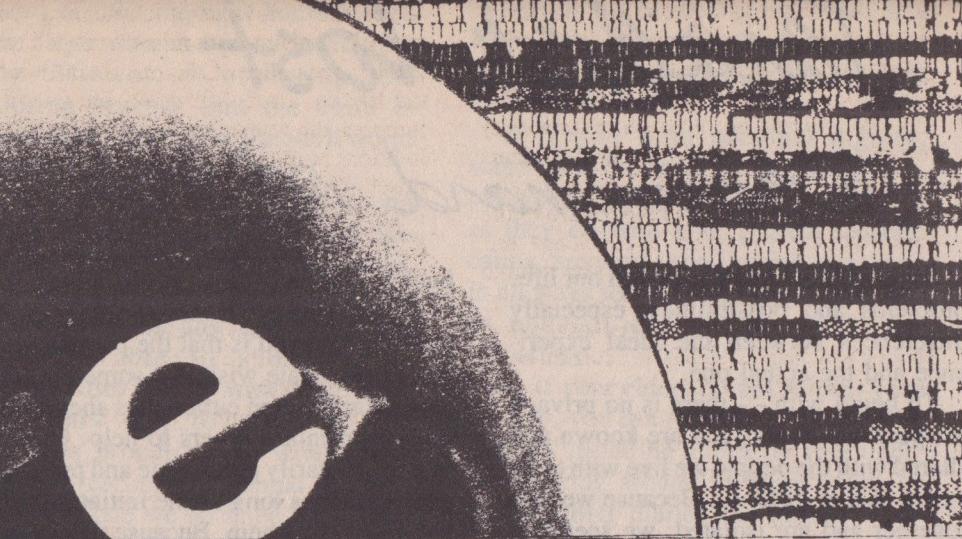
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See John M. Hart, **Anarchism & the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931** (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978) and Marjorie Ruth Clark, **Organized Labor in Mexico** (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934).



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We strongly recommend our readers check out **New Catalyst**. Sample copies are available for \$1.50 + postage from: P.O. Box 99, Lillooet, British Columbia, Canada V0K 1V0. **Return Address: Moscow**, which we mentioned in our last issue, is no longer publishing, but may resume in the fall; however, bulletins on the Soviet Trust Group/peace movement are available for \$1.00 and a SASE from: Bob McGlynn, 528 5th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11215 (use U.S. postage or send cash).

Many thanks to our friends at **Fifth Estate** for the generous donation. Hope they get back into print real soon. For info. on the new Layabouts record (which we hope to review in the next issue), write to: Layabouts/Non-Serviam Productions, c/o Urbane Guerilla, P.O. Box 02455, Detroit, MI 48202.

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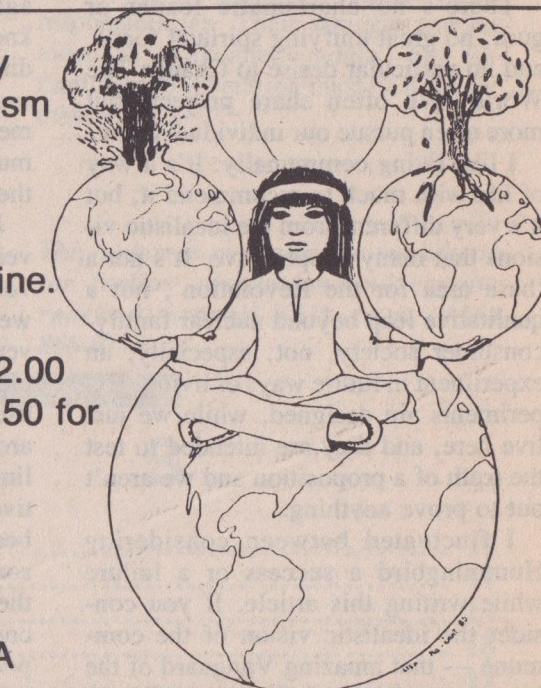
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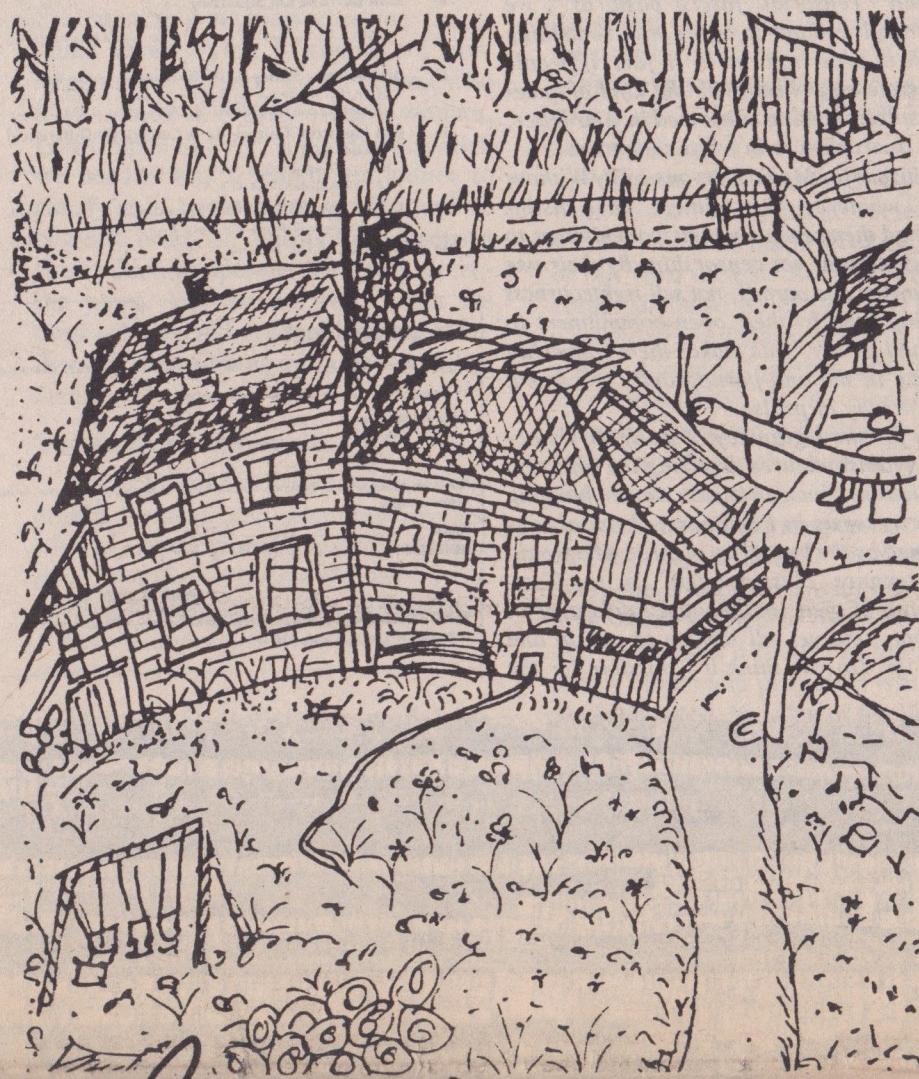
*With the evening breeze blowing his long hair behind, the young man jauntily walks toward the barn swinging a milk pail in his hand. He is whistling a lively tune from Tom Robinson but breaks it to yell out "Lady". From out of the pasture a Hereford cow comes running and it doesn't stop until it reaches its stall where it patiently waits for the milker to show up. For the next half hour there is the sound of streams of milk hitting the pail as the man meditatively and methodically pulls the cow's teats. When the bucket is full, he carries it back to the large red farmhouse that sits imposingly on top of a hill.*

*The man is Jim, a tall thin fellow whose bearded face would be gaunt if it weren't for the slightly comical effect of his wire-rimmed glasses sitting askew on the nose. Ever since he dropped out of university some of his time has been spent working at odd jobs of the menial labouring type in different cities; but for most of the time he was collecting unemployment benefits. Last year, though, he and the people he had been living with gave up on city life and joined the small trickle of discontents who seek a better life in the country.*

*They call themselves Hummingbird now and fit the general image of what used to be called a commune. Communes have fallen out of the public view in the past decade and most people believe they have all been disbanded. For the most part, this is true. The communes that still do exist tend to be highly structured and based on a spiritualist or behaviorist model; the anarchistic, free love type of commune that fits the general image generally failed soon after they started. However, this group, long known for its displaced optimism, believes that the spirit which motivated the*

*moralistic treatment for one another around our particular projects and ideologies, we aren't very 'self-sufficient' (another bugaboo), we aren't the Vanguard, etc. But if we start from where we are, what we are doing, what satisfactions, disappointments, and joys we derive from our life at Hummingbird, our conclusions may change.*

getting in the firewood, childcare, and animal care, everything is optional. Though the amount of work to be done on the non-optional jobs is up to each individual, it is a strong norm that *everyone* supports these jobs being done. It is a problem that women still do most of the cooking and housework while the men do most of the work in the



courtesy of Albert Parsons

## Kick It Over

we're doing and what we want to do. But these meetings are rare because common projects and the need for co-ordinated efforts are rare.

There are two basic types of people here — prickly individualists who work pretty hard and periodically blow up at each other and the rest of us, and mediators who are more concerned with inter-personal dynamics and don't work as hard. Each type is essential — the first gets things going and the second prevents burnout. The continual tension between these two different ways of being provides a lot of the dynamism of Hummingbird — we are at the centre of much that happens in the local alternative community, host a community gathering, publish the newsletter.

Visitors really help to kick us out of lethargy, especially around maintenance activities. It was visitors who got us going repairing the roof, building the kitchen out at our conference site, and they've motivated several major clean-ups. Also, we find it easier to be open with each other when there are friends visiting to take some of the emotional strain. We are definitely more charming when visitors are around.

Though we range from terminally cynical to mildly so we haven't given up our idealism completely — we continue to struggle to live together reasonably, to support the traditions of communalism and co-operativism, to initiate projects in the alternative community.

As a single small commune with never more than 20 members, left stranded by the lack of other communes nearby to connect with, we haven't been able to develop co-operative economic relationships to get out of the welfare economy, or common projects. We remain stuck on the level of survival — just

where it patiently waits for the milker to show up. For the next half hour there is the sound of streams of milk hitting the pail as the man meditatively and methodically pulls the cow's teats. When the bucket is full, he carries it back to the large red farmhouse that sits imposingly on top of a hill.

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— Albert Parsons 1979

Life at Hummingbird Commune is often hectic and confusing, often boring and tedious, but never predictable or blasé. Hummingbird is the rural commune which I share with a fluctuating but always small number of other people. It is, further, an anarchist commune — founded by a group of anarch-

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## Paradise lost a communard reflects...

So, I'm going to try to sketch our life, problems and possibilities, especially differences between the ideal experience and the actual one.

To begin with — there is no privacy

bush.

The way that optional tasks and projects are handled is that the person who has a passionate wish that something in particular be done either goes ahead and does it, or enlists others to help. Others

mediators who are more concerned with inter-personal dynamics and don't work as hard. Each type is essential — the first gets things going and the second prevents burnout. The continual tension between these two different ways of being provides a lot of the dynamism of Hummingbird — we are at the centre of much that happens in the local alternative community, host a community gathering, publish the newsletter.

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As a single small commune with never more than 20 members, left stranded by the lack of other communes nearby to connect with, we haven't been able to develop co-operative economic relationships to get out of the welfare economy, or common projects. We remain stuck on the level of survival — just maintaining the community is the priority, and because of the conflict between individualism and communalism we have great difficulty building momentum or habits to maintain our activities.

Hummingbird is not, probably, a sustainable way of life — our high turnover, internal difficulties, instability of focus and so on, make it obvious that even the bulk of people who have lived here do not find it a long-term way of living.

I still can't come to a firm conclusion; the benefits and debits of individualism, the conflict with my need for a group

that there is still a place for anarchy and free love in this alienated and organized world. They will rush in where hippies fear to tread anymore.

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Life at Hummingbird Commune is often hectic and confusing, often boring and tedious, but never predictable or blasé. Hummingbird is the rural commune which I share with a fluctuating but always small number of other people. It is, further, an anarchist commune — founded by a group of anarchists, mostly populated by anarchists, and functioning on the principles of direct action, individualism and free association. With a constantly changing membership it's been going now for seven years.

There's no charismatic leader or guru, no great unifying spiritual focus, and no particular desire to Change The World. We often share projects but more often pursue our individual paths.

I like living communally. It's a way of life with much to recommend it, but it's very different from the idealistic visions that many people have. It's not a 'base area for the Revolution', not a qualitative leap beyond nuclear family-consumer society, not, especially, an experiment in future ways of living. Experiments are designed, while we just live here, and they are intended to test the truth of a proposition and we aren't out to prove anything.

I fluctuated between considering Hummingbird a success or a failure while writing this article. If you consider the idealistic vision of the commune — that amazing Vanguard of the New Age — as the reality and don't look at how we actually live, then we're a failure, no doubt. There's a lot that's temporary in our arrangements, a lot of lack of caring for one another and

# Paradise Lost

## a communal反映...

So, I'm going to try to sketch our life, problems and possibilities, especially differences between the ideal experience and the actual one.

To begin with — there is no privacy to speak of. Our affairs are known and shared with the people we live with to an extent that is difficult. Because we live together and are isolated, we spend so much time together that our work habits, love affairs, arguments and disagreements, hopes and dreams are known to all of us. Often it is difficult to directly confront each other because we *must* continue to associate so disagreements can fester for quite a while. We must adapt to each other's quirks and there turn out to be a lot of them.

Poverty is another thing — there are very few jobs here in the country and very, very few full-time ones. Because we share our expenses we get by with very small incomes in relative luxury — plenty of good food, plenty of books, use of machinery, plenty of land to roam around in. But optional money is quite limited though expenses are low. Relative wealth is not a problem here now because we are all so poor — when some people who were better off than the rest were here there was enough conflict that they left. We do not simply pool our income — we're much more individualistic than communist.

All of our arrangements are on a basis of individual choice, modified by group pressure. With the exception of a few jobs which *must* be done — planting,

bush.

The way that optional tasks and projects are handled is that the person who has a passionate wish that something in particular be done either goes ahead and does it or enlists others to help. Others must voluntarily participate and projects usually last as long as the initiator feels strongly about them. Because there is no automatic requirement that people do any particular thing, some things seldom get done, often those who feel that



something *should* be done get angry at those who don't, energy flows in fits and starts. If you are highly goal-directed, Hummingbird would be frustrating — often problems will be mulled over for months, projects sit around unfinished for years, waiting for that burst of energy that gets things finished. It does come but can't be predicted or forced under our setup.

We occasionally have commune meetings to decide on common goals and projects and they are surprisingly helpful in keeping us in touch with what

maintaining the community is the priority, and because of the conflict between individualism and communalism we have great difficulty building momentum or habits to maintain our activities.

Hummingbird is not, probably, a sustainable way of life — our high turnover, internal difficulties, instability of focus and so on, make it obvious that even the bulk of people who have lived here do not find it a long-term way of living.

I still can't come to a firm conclusion; the benefits and debits of individualism, the conflict with my need for a group focus and mutual emotional aid, access to great resources and a lot of interesting, intelligent people both here and our visitors.

Everything changes every day — Life is for living, not for theory. Hummingbird has been around for seven years, has 'failed' and 'succeeded' a couple of times in that span, and seems likely to continue on for an indefinite time, continuing not out of vision or romantic ideals but just as a home.

*And, as the sun sinks over the ridge to the west of the farmhouse, Larry gathers a last load of firewood into his arms. He pauses for a moment to gaze at the glowing clouds. A light breeze comes up, blowing his long hair about his ears. The snow is melting, winter will soon be over.*

*He walks into the kitchen, deftly fending off three cats who attempt to follow him through the door, and deposits the load of wood into the woodbox.*

— Larry Ingwersoll 1986

**Post Script by Albert Parsons:**

*Readers of the above should bear in mind that it was written by a person who*

is on the verge of moving out after having lived at Hummingbird for 1-1/2 years. This post script is being written by the only founding member still residing here. I and three others (2 adults and 1 child) have lived here almost consistently since the beginning and thus constitute a core group around which others come in and out. We will probably continue to use Hummingbird as a home base for many years to come; I intend to live out my life here.

Generally I found Larry's article to

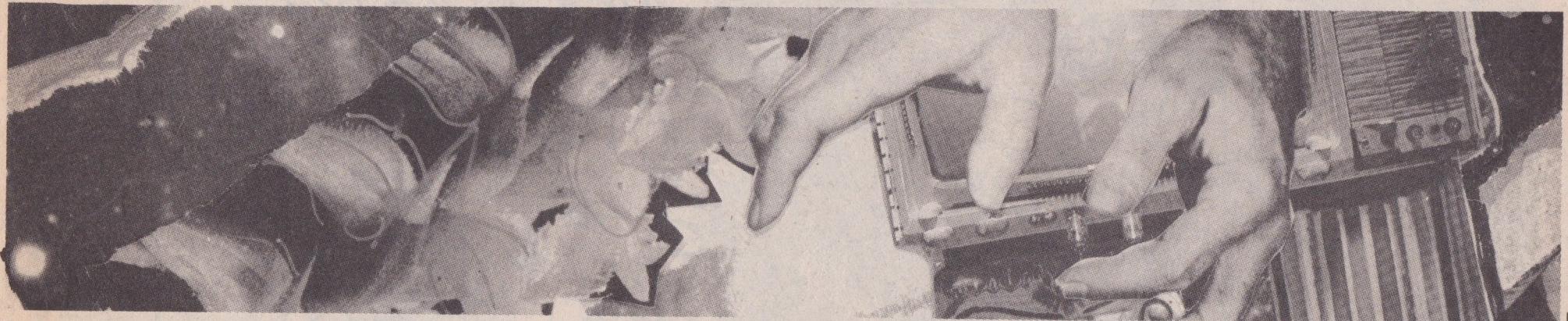
be too negative in tone; he says Hummingbird is not this or not that or not sustainable, etc. Rather than attempt to negate each negation — most of them deserve comment but I don't have the time — I'll just discuss the ones that particularly raise my rancor. His division of people into two types, individualists and mediators, is not accurate. This categorization does not include everyone and I personally resent being called an individualist (but, yes, I am prickly). A more fitting description

of types of people would be talkers and doers, and Hummingbird has always had more of the former than the latter. If we had had more people around who were into initiating and carrying through on projects, then Hummingbird would be closer to self-sufficiency, a goal which we've always sought but have realized would never be attainable.

This is my vision, please and thank you Larry. It is something I started working on 14 years ago, a community

that goes beyond the nuclear family-consumer society and is part of the natural environment. It has not always been an easy process by any means but I enjoy the results so far. I consider Hummingbird a success (although always in flux) and would encourage others to try the same thing. We're always open to visitors and new members, I'm sure the KIO collective would forward any enquiries if anyone wants to find out more.

Don't dream it, be it! □



Tammaro

## HOW TO PUBLISH A MAGAZINE

The first question you need to ask yourself is: why do I want to publish a magazine? Are there other venues for the kind of material you want to publish? If not, then maybe you should start your own. A couple of years back there were a million little fanzines being published in Toronto, all with the same 'punk aesthetic': tiny unreadable print, lots of 'black space', text that jumped all over the place, interspersed with violent

anything but the lowest grade of newsprint, as you have to go up several grades before you see a noticeable difference in quality. If you print tabloid (like **Kick It Over**), you have no collating, stapling or trimming to do (which, by the way, is very expensive unless you have access to the equipment to do it yourself). The magazine is ready to go as soon as it's off the press.

By the way, it pays to get to know

best to catch errors before hand if possible. Things you missed the first time, or errors the typesetter made (proofread carefully — 3 times is best) will have to be pasted up line by line on the final "boards".

One of the options **Kick It Over** is looking into is buying a personal computer and doing the "inputting" ourselves and either running out the final galley at a typesetting shop (at a les-

ers). Web presses print tabloids in 'signatures' of 4 pages, magazines in signatures of 8, so you have to print your tabloid in either an 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24 page edition, and in a magazine in a 8, 16, or larger multiple of 8. If you have a separate cover, that adds four extra pages.

There's three ways to get your magazine out to people: mail it, put it in bookstores, record stores or food co-

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There's basically five aspects to publishing a magazine: the method of printing, the words, the illustrations and design, getting contributors, and developing your readership.

Printing methods vary from the ridiculous to the expensive. Each method can be related to an 'economy of scale' — i.e. to the point at which it becomes feasible to print it that way. Unless you own a hand-crank mimeograph machine (which does not produce very good quality work), your best bet for print runs of 0-200 is probably xerox. In Toronto, there are xerox places which print for 3¢ a sheet. Xerox doesn't do a great job on photos. There are special machines which will screen them, but you'd have to get all your copies done on that machine, and that could be expensive.

Offset printing (where they use metal

anything but the lowest grade of newsprint, as you have to go up several grades before you see a noticeable difference in quality. If you print tabloid (like **Kick It Over**), you have no collating, stapling or trimming to do (which, by the way, is very expensive unless you have access to the equipment to do it yourself). The magazine is ready to go as soon as it's off the press.

By the way, it pays to get to know your printer. If you're personable and make a point of introducing yourself and asking their advice, they're likely to give you better service, and they might even hold off on making you pay your bill for a few weeks once you've established yourself as a good customer.

The next problem you have to solve is words. You can type them (IBM Selectric is best) or you can get it typeset (like **Kick It Over** does), but it will cost you. We used to get our typesetting for free because we had people who had access to machines. Now we have to pay \$35.00 an hour, which is cheap by industry standards. If you're going to get stuff typeset, you need to know how many columns you want to the page (we have four) because that's going to determine the "line length" (measured in picas). You can buy a pica ruler and work it out. Our line length is 14.06. You also have to know what type faces you want (get a booklet from the people who do your typesetting), and the **point size** (how big your type is — ours is 11 point), and **leading** (that's the space between lines) — ours is 12. Thus, you

best to catch errors before hand if possible. Things you missed the first time, or errors the typesetter made (proofread carefully — 3 times is best) will have to be pasted up line by line on the final "boards".

One of the options **Kick It Over** is looking into is buying a personal computer and doing the "inputting" ourselves and either running out the final galleys at a typesetting shop (at a lesser charge) or getting them printed on a laser printer using the computer floppy disk (for either, you have to make sure your computer is going to be 'compatible' with the equipment at the other end).

Illustrations can range from photos to collages to line drawings. If you're lucky enough to have access to a reducing/enlarging xerox machine, you won't have to pay to have your illustrations "statted". To figure out the final size, take a "reduction wheel" (available in graphic supply stores), match the size of the graphic with the size of the "hole", and figure the percentage it would need to be reduced or enlarged (the best xerox machines are those which have 1% increments so you can get exactly the size you want — or you can take them into a xerox shop and have them do them). For photos, let the print shop do the work. They'll do "half tones" (to make the photos come out O.K. in newsprint) for \$3.50 to \$8.00 a picture, and they'll make them the right size (but you have to give them the percentages).

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There's three ways to get your magazine out to people: mail it, put it in bookstores, record stores or food co-ops, and sell it or hand it out free at political and cultural events. If you live in a medium-sized city, there should be at least one book or record store that will take a chance on your publication. They operate on "consignment" — you give them the issues and an invoice (make it easy for the store and keep as good records as possible), and keep a copy of the invoice for yourself. They will pay you for issues sold when you bring in the next issue; they will also return unsold copies. It's usually good to give bookstores a 40% discount; there has to be something in it for them. Thus, if your selling price is \$1.50, the bookstore will pay you 90¢ for every copy sold.

Second-class mailing permits (which permit you to mail at a cheaper rate) are hard to come by; consult your local post office. Sending things "book rate" is also an option.

As for getting writers, be persistent. If you go for quality, you will attract quality. It takes a long time to get to the point where you can count on people to write for you. Your magazine has to prove itself as a medium that intelligent

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Offset printing (where they use metal or paper plates) can be inexpensive, relatively speaking, if you're getting a large number of copies. **Kick It Over** used to get a separate cover printed offset, but we found it was costing almost as much as to print the rest of the magazine. Part of it was the cost of colour paper we used. In addition, we had to collate, staple and trim the final product, which proved very time-consuming.

We found the best route for us was to go with a web press. Web printing companies charge the same price for everything up to 2000 copies, so it's the kind of thing you might want to contemplate once you start distributing more than a couple hundred copies. It's prohibitively expensive to have them print on

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To save yourself typesetting charges, you should make sure all final manuscripts are typed double-spaced and grouped together according to point size and type face. Headlines and subheads have to be submitted separately. All editing changes have to be clearly marked, and there are reference books which you can photocopy in the library which contain lists of standard editing marks. It's good to develop a 'style sheet' which indicates when things should be marked *italics* or **bold face**, and standardizing punctuation and spelling, to keep brain work to a minimum. If you need some pointers on "marking up" copy, consult your typesetter. It's

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Layout and paste-up is too long and involved to go into at length here. You need a metal rule (with picas, points and inches, preferably), a reduction wheel, paste-up knives, a non-repro. blue marking pen (for marking errors on the galley), and access to a light table and portable wexer. Figure out how many inches of text would fit on a page if it were all text (the length of a column in inches times the number of columns). You need to allow one quarter of the space for graphics and heads; so if your page will hold 60 inches of text, you don't want more than an average of 45 inches of text per page. If you have 315 inches total, then you will fit comfortably into an 8-page tabloid (since a whole page is lost to the front and back cov-

political and cultural events. If you live in a medium-sized city, there should be at least one book or record store that will take a chance on your publication. They operate on "consignment" — you give them the issues and an invoice (make it easy for the store and keep as good records as possible), and keep a copy of the invoice for yourself. They will pay you for issues sold when you bring in the next issue; they will also return unsold copies. It's usually good to give bookstores a 40% discount; there has to be something in it for them. Thus, if your selling price is \$1.50, the bookstore will pay you 90¢ for every copy sold.

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Start small. It takes a long time to get a magazine off the ground. Adjust your expenses to your income. You're always going to run a deficit (if you don't, you're doing good), but don't build up a lot of overhead or costs you can't afford to sustain. Anyhow, good luck. □

*It's often said that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. Chances are this article may be more confusing than enlightening. If we can be of any assistance, just drop us a line and we'll try to answer any questions. We've learned things the hard way. We hope we've been able to give you a few hints to get you started in the right direction.*

"We will search for people who may help us. It may come from other tribes.... anyone who has been inspired, who has some knowledge and ability, and is willing, and has the courage and conviction.... We look to all people, no matter what race they may be. He (she) may be a common person, but each one is expected to help at this time."

— Thomas Banyaca (Hopi)



(depiction of Anna Mae Aquash, 1947-1976)

You can help stop the relocation of traditional Navajo and Hopi peoples (Reagan has set a deadline of July 7, 1986) by writing for information and sending donations to:

Big Mountain Legal Defense Offense Committee  
(Big Mountain — JUA)  
2501 North 4th Street  
Flagstaff, Arizona  
86001 U.S.A.

Send your letters of protest (regarding the Canadian government's inaction on this matter) to: The (Not So) Honourable Joe Clark, M.P.

House of Commons  
Ottawa, Ontario  
(no postage needed)

If you can't afford the price don't hassle the bookstore, write to us.